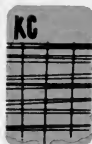
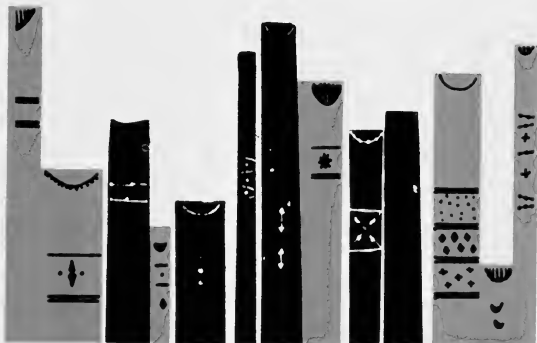




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# NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

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# CONTENTS

## NUMBER 1, JANUARY, 1963

	<i>Page</i>
The Navaho Indians: Land and Oil Lawrence C. Kelly	1
The "King of New Mexico" and the Doniphan Expedition Ralph A. Smith	29
Sheep Husbandry in New Mexico, 1902-1903 (concluded) William J. Parish, <i>editor</i>	56
Book Reviews . . . . .	78

## NUMBER 2, APRIL, 1963

Fray Silvestre and the Obstinate Hopi Eleanor B. Adams	97
The Benjamin Cooper Expedition to Santa Fe in 1822 and 1823 Kenneth L. Holmes	139
Bradshaw Bonanza Patrick D. Henderson	151
Indian Extinction in the Middle Santa Cruz River Valley, Arizona Henry F. Dobyns	163
Book Reviews . . . . .	182
Errata . . . . .	183
Notes and Documents . . . . .	184

# NUMBER 3, JULY, 1963

	<i>Page</i>
Major Long's Route from the Arkansas to the Canadian River, 1820	John M. Tucker 185
John J. Pershing: Frontier Cavalryman	Donald Smythe, S.J. 220
The Sheep Industry in Arizona, 1903	Frank D. Reeve, <i>editor</i> 244
Notes and Documents . . . . .	253
Errata . . . . .	253
Book Reviews . . . . .	254

# NUMBER 4, OCTOBER, 1963

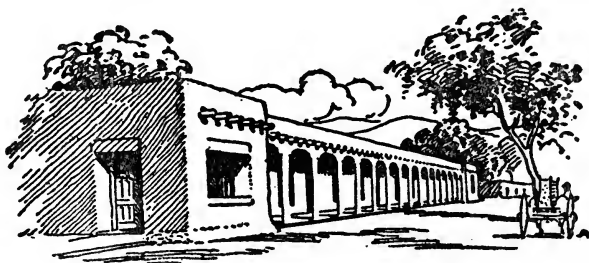
Pope's Wells	Lee Myers 273
Confederate Hero at Val Verde	Odie B. Faulk 300
Mrs. Blake's Sunday School	Mary Blake Salmans 312
The Sheep Industry in Arizona, 1905-1906	Frank D. Reeve, <i>editor</i> 323
Book Reviews . . . . .	343
Historical Society of New Mexico . . . . .	356



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VOL. XXXVIII	JANUARY, 1963	No. 1
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## CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
The Navaho Indians: Land and Oil	
Lawrence C. Kelly . . . . .	1
The "King of New Mexico" and the Doniphan Expedition	
Ralph A. Smith . . . . .	29
Sheep Husbandry in New Mexico, 1902-1903 ( <i>concluded</i> )	
William J. Parish, <i>Editor</i> . . . . .	56
Book Reviews . . . . .	78

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## THE NAVAHO INDIANS: LAND AND OIL

*By* LAWRENCE C. KELLY\*

### I

THE TREATY signed by the Navahos and the federal government in 1868 gave the Indians 3,414,528 acres of land in northwestern New Mexico and northeastern Arizona. Because this grant was not large enough to accommodate the many members of the tribe, the reservation was expanded by presidential orders until in 1911 it embraced 12,189,997 acres. In 1913 and again in 1918 further expansion was prohibited by Congress.

Despite these restrictions, the Navahos and their sheep continued to increase. Several plans to sidestep the Congressional limitations were attempted by the Bureau of Indian Affairs after 1912, but these efforts were, in the main, fruitless. Then, in 1922, oil was discovered on the reservation and the Navaho dream of additional land promised to become a reality for Congress could not forbid the Navahos to purchase land with their own funds. Opposition did appear, however, when an attempt was made to wrest title to the oil lands from the Indians. A bitter fight ensued, but in 1927 the Navaho title to the oil and to the land from which it came was upheld by Congress. This victory, confirming the Navaho claim to those portions of the reservation created by presidential executive order, represented a significant change in federal Indian policy which, since the passage of the Dawes

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\* 255 Pearl St., Joliet, Ill. This paper is based on Kelly's doctoral dissertation, The University of New Mexico, 1961. F.D.R.

Act in 1887, had sought to break up the Indian reservation system.

Shortly after 1927 the revenues from oil began to dwindle but they proved enough to stimulate a reservation expansion program which resulted in the present, apparently definitive, boundaries of the reservation.

## II

In 1878, 1880, 1884, 1900, and 1901, the original Navaho reservation was enlarged. These additions were not concluded by treaty but rather by executive order of the president. An executive order reservation differed considerably from a treaty reservation; whereas the latter necessarily received the blessing of Congress, through the Senate, the executive order reservation was solely the creation of the president—Congress was given no opportunity to accept or reject his decision. Title to a treaty reservation was vested by law in the Indians. Title was not clearly given to them by executive order; certain lands were simply withdrawn from the public domain and set aside for Indian usage. Although custom accorded the Indians title to the executive order reservations, the legality of this interpretation was never tested prior to 1922.

An executive order reservation was a vague thing in other ways. For instance, the orders creating the 1878 and 1880 reservations clearly specified that the land was for Navaho use only, but the order which created the Hopi reservation in 1882 stated that the Secretary of the Interior could settle other Indians (presumably Navahos) upon the land if he saw fit. Again, the executive order of 1884, while setting aside land for "Indian purposes," made no specific mention of any Indian tribe, while that of 1900 temporarily withdrew certain lands until the "Indians" there were allotted under the Dawes Act. The executive order of 1901 simply withdrew the land "until further notice" and made no mention of Indians at all.<sup>1</sup> Despite the vagueness of these orders, all the withdrawals

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1. Printed copies of the various executive orders can be found in Charles J. Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, 5 Vols. (Washington: G.P.O., 1904-1938).

mentioned above were considered Navaho property in 1901.

The only qualification to Navaho ownership of the executive order reservations prior to the 1920's lay in the area known as the "checkerboard."<sup>2</sup> In certain of the executive order reservations alternate sections of the land belonged not to the Navahos but to two railroad companies: the Santa Fe and the St. Louis and San Francisco or the Frisco. Their claims dated back to the time of the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad Co. land grant in 1866, thus antedating the Navaho grants. Because of these overlapping grants, the southern region of the Navaho country was in reality part Navaho and part railroad land. In the absence of a survey, the Navahos lived where they pleased, railroad land or not. There was little friction in the nineteenth century because the area was not desired by whites, but after 1900 cattlemen began to lease large portions of the railroad lands.

In 1904 an attempt was made to solve the problems of the checkerboard. A rider attached to the Indian Appropriation Bill provided that where private (railroad) land was included within an executive order Indian reservation, such land could be exchanged by the interested party for "vacant, nonmineral, nontimbered, surveyed public land of equal area and value situated in the same state or territory" (33 Stat., 211). The law was advantageous to both the Navahos and the railroads. No trouble was anticipated in effecting the exchanges. After leisurely negotiations the Santa Fe, on January 16, 1913, recorded a deed for the transfer of 327,000 acres in the area of the 1900 and 1901 reservations and proceeded to claim its lieu lands.

The surprise of the Santa Fe officials must have been great when the Solicitor of the Department of the Interior refused to recognize the deed. He did so on the ground that the act of 1904 did not apply to the 1900 and 1901 withdrawals because these areas had not been set aside as Indian reservations, but were only temporary withdrawals for Indian use. The Santa Fe thereupon withdrew its application for transfer and the

2. The best treatment of the checkerboard problem is Sanford Mosk, *Land Tenure Problems in the Santa Fe Railroad Grant Area* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1944).

matter was temporarily dropped.<sup>3</sup> What could have been a test case for the exact status of these executive order reservations was thereby postponed.

Even more perplexing than the problem of the checkerboard was the status of several thousand Navahos to the east and south of the reservation who, since the time of their return from the Bosque Redondo, had been living outside any reservation boundaries, treaty or executive order, and who were, in reality, squatters on the public domain. This situation was serious for several reasons. For one, the number of Navahos involved was quite large. Although there was never a scientific census of the Navahos prior to 1929, observers in the early 1900's variously estimated their number in these areas at between 3,000 and 6,000 souls, a sizeable group.<sup>4</sup> For a second reason, the interest of the cattlemen in these areas, as in the checkerboard, had increased sharply after 1900 when the development of artesian wells made grazing profitable. The railroad companies were beginning to lease large portions of their alternate holdings and the new proprietors were in no mood to tolerate the Navaho squatters. Friction quickly developed. Threatened by the white invasion of their traditional grazing area, the Navahos appealed to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Francis Leupp, for aid. In 1906 Leupp visited the area personally and reviewed the plight of the Navahos. He returned to Washington to urge executive order action.<sup>5</sup>

Leupp's arguments were blunted by the white interests and a compromise was the best he could obtain. The Navahos were to be given a chance to file on the land under the provisions of either the Dawes Act or the Homestead Act while

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3. The history of this transaction and the opinion of the Solicitor are contained in a letter from J. H. Edwards, Solicitor, to the Secretary of the Interior, February 9, 1924, in the National Archives, Record Group 75, Central Classified Files, Navaho Reservation, 7126-22-313. (Unless otherwise indicated, future references to the National Archives will be to Record Group 75, Central Classified Files, and the citation will be abbreviated to include only the jurisdiction and the file number, i.e., Navaho, 7126-22-313.)

4. E. M. Sweet to E. B. Meritt, July 24, 1915, Pueblo Bonito, unnumbered report in the 160-169 file. See also the National Archives, Record Group 75, Board of Indian Commissioners, Special Reports, Vol. 2, February 15, 1919 (Hereafter cited as BIC, *Special Reports*).

5. Testimony of Anselm Weber in U. S. House, Committee on Indian Affairs, *Hearings, Indians of the United States*, Vol. 3, 66th Cong., 1-3d sess., 1920, p. 707.

the land was temporarily withdrawn from white entry. Once the Indians received allotments, the remainder of the area was to be restored to the public domain and opened to white entry. On November 9, 1907, a large tract of land in both Arizona and New Mexico was withdrawn.<sup>6</sup>

This compromise was very unpopular in New Mexico where opposition to federal control was growing and the statehood bandwagon was gathering steam. By 1911 sufficient pressure was brought to bear on President Taft to cause him to issue another executive order restoring to the public domain all the land in the 1907 withdrawal area in New Mexico. Arizona apparently made no opposition to the original withdrawal and as a result the land there remained in a withdrawn status until 1934.

The attempt to allot Navaho land under the 1907 withdrawal plan was a failure. The original plan of the Indian Bureau was a good one for it recognized that the Navahos could not continue to live in the area if they were confined to 160 acres per family. Accordingly, the Bureau planned to secure control of the entire area for them by judiciously allotting land that contained water.<sup>8</sup> There were, however, serious flaws in the enactment of the plan.

In the first place, many of the waterholes were discovered to be on the railroad land. A more serious problem was the discovery, after the withdrawal was voided by Taft, that many of the Navahos who had filed applications for allotment during the grace period had somehow filed them on railroad land. Both of these difficulties could conceivably have been overcome by application for transfer under the act of 1904, but such application was not made prior to Taft's restoration. At that time the act of 1904 became inoperative because it applied only to lands in executive order status. Thus, in 1911 the majority of the Navahos in New Mexico were still without title to their traditional grazing lands. Because of bungling

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6. U. S. Senate (Herbert J. Hagerman), *The Navajo Indian Reservation*, Doc. 64, 72d Cong., 1st sess., 1932, pp. 6-7 (Hereafter cited as *Hagerman Report*.)

[Through an oversight there is no footnote No. 7. Ed.]

8. H. J. Hagerman to Senator A. A. Jones, November 26, 1923, Pueblo Bonito, 74907-23-308.3. Also Mosk, *Land Tenure Problems in the Santa Fe Railroad Grant Area*, pp. 18-19.

administration of the withdrawal order of 1907 and legal technicalities within the Department of the Interior, the Navahos on the eve of statehood for Arizona and New Mexico were in little better position than they had been at the turn of the century.

Between the time of Taft's restoration and the admission of New Mexico and Arizona to statehood in 1912, the Indian Bureau attempted to correct its past errors by extending the provisions of the Dawes Act to the Navahos residing on the public domain without the formality of an executive order withdrawal.<sup>9</sup> This interpretation, obviously a desperate maneuver to salvage something from the earlier failure, was quickly criticized by both friends and enemies of the Navahos. White persons in the Southwest charged that the interpretation was unwarranted and illegal. Various eastern Indian associations looked upon it as unwise because it implied that the Indian land needs could be satisfied by a 160-acre allotment.<sup>10</sup> New Mexico's answer to this new strategy came shortly after statehood was attained. The first memorial of the first state legislature called upon the United States Congress to allot in severalty the Navaho reservation and to open the "surplus lands" of that preserve to white entry.<sup>11</sup> As the New Mexican opposition to the allotment policy increased, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs decided in October, 1912, to discontinue the work pending a complete investigation of the problem by Congress.<sup>12</sup>

In 1913, as a result of an attack upon the Navaho land holdings by Senator Albert B. Fall of New Mexico, the Bureau's proposed investigation seemed to be at hand. Fall con-

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9. The evolution of this novel and legally dubious interpretation is outlined in a letter from Commissioner Sells to T. A. Andreon of Leupp, January 12, 1915, in *Hagerman Report*, pp. 67-68. Sells dates the genesis of this interpretation prior to 1908, but the comments of Senator Albert B. Fall before the Senate Indian Affairs Committee on June 5, 1913, indicate that it was not invoked in behalf of the Navahos until after the failure of the 1907 withdrawal scheme. U. S. Senate, Committee on Indian Affairs, *Hearings, Indian Appropriation Bill, Fiscal 1914*, 63d Cong., 1st sess., 1913, pp. 502-503.

10. For opinion in New Mexico and Arizona see the remainder of Fall's statement in footnote #9 above. For a statement of the eastern position see J. Weston Allen to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 7, 1913, Navaho 55414-14-150.

11. For a copy of the memorial see Navaho, 3368-12-308.1.

12. F. H. Abbott to Senator Benjamin F. Shively, October 9, 1912, Navaho 9807-12-308.1.



tended that the Navahos had plenty of land on the reservation (1,100 acres for each man, woman, and child, he said) and that the Bureau's plan was simply an encouragement for Indian blackmail of white stockholders.<sup>13</sup> Fall's argument was a compound of half-truths and scrambled statistics, but it was sufficient to cause the Senate Indian Affairs Committee to hesitate in supporting the Bureau plan. The Committee decided, in the face of conflicting evidence, to prohibit the use of public funds for Navaho allotments on the public domain in Arizona and New Mexico for the coming year. The Bureau endorsed the plan "pending an investigation." The Commissioner of Indian Affairs obviously believed that the investigation would confirm the necessity for more land. Fall was equally sure that an investigation would bear out his arguments.<sup>14</sup>

As a result of this compromise, a proviso was inserted into the Indian Appropriations bill for fiscal 1914 which stated that

no part of said sum shall be used . . . for allotment of any land in severalty upon the public domain to any Indian, whether of the Navajo or other tribe, within the State of New Mexico and the State of Arizona. (38 Stat., 78)

When the Senate met to discuss the Navaho problem the following year, the Indian Bureau had undergone a change of personnel. The new Assistant Commissioner, E. B. Meritt, when testifying on the Navaho situation, seemed unaware that the Bureau's acceptance of the Fall proviso the year before had been based on the assumption that the Navahos living on the public domain had been there since their return from the Bosque Redondo and before. Like Fall, Meritt told the committee that these Navahos had "voluntarily left the reservation to go on the public domain in order that they might make a better living for themselves."<sup>15</sup> Nor did Meritt

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13. See Fall's statement above, footnote #9, and a similar comment in the *Congressional Record*, Vol. 49, 63d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 7031-33.

14. U. S. Senate, *Hearings, Indian Appropriations Bill, Fiscal 1914*, pp. 502-507.

15. U. S. Senate, Committee on Indian Affairs, *Hearings, Indian Appropriation Bill, Fiscal 1915*, 63d Cong., 2d sess., 1914, p. 297.

repeat the request for an investigation. In addition, Senator Fall now found support from the Arizona delegation. Senator Henry F. Ashurst introduced a new issue into the controversy when he complained that the pressure of the Navaho allotment scheme was being made "not for the benefit of the Indians but that the coffers of a vast corporation may be still further filled." The corporation to which Ashurst referred was the Santa Fe Railroad. He charged that the act of 1904 had been passed at the behest of the company, and that under it the state of Arizona had been short-changed some 370,000 acres of its best land. This pressure for additional land for the Navahos on the public domain, he intimated, was simply a prelude to the issuance of another executive order withdrawal which would pave the way for the Santa Fe to reap additional profits.<sup>16</sup>

With no one to defend the earlier Bureau position, the Navaho cause was seriously compromised. An agreement to which both Fall and Meritt subscribed was concluded whereby only those Navahos who were residing on the public domain prior to June 30, 1913, were to receive allotments. Annually thereafter until 1933 this stipulation was incorporated into the Indian Appropriation acts.<sup>17</sup>

What happened behind the scenes, if anything, is not evident. What is clear, however, is that the compromise was in fact no compromise at all. It was at best a concession, and at worst a betrayal of the Navaho need for land. If it had been true since 1906 that 160 acres was not enough for the non-reservation Navahos, that fact had not changed in 1914. Unless the land could be allotted so that the Navahos controlled more than the minimum allotment acreage, which seemed unlikely now, they could not make a living. The Fall-Meritt compromise meant simply that the Navahos must be satisfied with less land than they needed and that the stockmen of New

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16. *Ibid.*, p. 294. Ashurst offered no evidence of such a plot and, in light of the Bureau's failure to take advantage of the 1904 act during the grace period of the 1907 withdrawal, his contention would seem to be at least questionable.

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 464-465. See also, Felix S. Cohen, *Handbook of Federal Indian Law* (Washington: G.P.O., 1945), pp. 392-393.

Mexico and Arizona had won an important victory over them.

Once again the Indian Bureau set out to salvage what it could. Special agents were sent into the non-reservation areas to allot land to as many Navahos as could qualify under the Fall rider. By 1916 an inspector in the field could report that in the Pueblo Bonito region of New Mexico 2,900 allotments had been applied for.<sup>18</sup>

This project too was doomed to failure. Indian allotments under the Dawes Act were neither approved nor patented by the Bureau of Indian Affairs but by the General Land Office, and the latter was not so lenient toward the Indians. Certain improvements and residence requirements were necessary before title was granted and the Navahos, a semi-nomadic people, often did little about either. Despite the large number of allotments, the Commissioner was also informed that all of the 2,900 allotments "may be cancelled for lack of residence or lack of conformity with other requirements."<sup>19</sup> Furthermore, the method of allotment was arousing the ire of the whites. Because of the railroad sections, Indian agents were forced to go farther away from the original Navaho grazing areas in search of suitable land. As the Indian allotments penetrated farther and farther into the public domain, the white stockmen resented more and more the Indian encroachment on land which they hoped to control.

The situation grew steadily worse after 1914. In 1918 Superintendent Janus of Leupp stated that he was "powerless" to plan for the future until the land situation was solved: "until this is done, all is uncertainty." The Board of Indian Commissioners sent one of its members to the field to make a first-hand report. His comments were not optimistic:

It is inconceivable that the Government can ever successfully adopt a policy of allotment for the Navajos. To attempt to do so would speedily reduce the majority of them to pauperism, and convert an independent, self sustaining people into a class of dependents.

18. S. A. M. Young to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 2, 1916, Pueblo Bonito, unnumbered report in the 160-169 file.

19. *Ibid.*

I most strongly recommend that the Board urge upon the Government the wisdom of changing the status of this land to that of an Indian reservation.<sup>20</sup>

These reports and others of a similar nature caused the Bureau to resolve in 1918 to meet the white opposition head on. Recommendation would be made for the creation of another executive order reservation.

Before this plan could be submitted, however, the Bureau's hands were tied by Congress. Word of the proposed reservation traveled swiftly to the Senate where the Arizona representatives decided the matter had gone far enough. In March, 1918, during debate on the Indian appropriation bill, Senator Marcus A. Smith of Arizona proposed an amendment from the floor which provided that "hereafter no Indian reservation shall be created, nor shall any addition be made to one heretofore created, within the limits of the States of New Mexico or Arizona, except by Act of Congress."<sup>21</sup> The amendment was accepted by both houses without opposition. (40 Stat., 575), and one year later the prohibition was extended to all the states (41 Stat., 34). A melancholy note by Superintendent Stacher of Pueblo Bonito summed up the situation:

The plan to extend the reservation has been blocked. No one in politics seems to care a rap what becomes of the Navajos and is willing to see him crowded out from his little range in the desert where he has been content to plug along. Where is the law maker that raises his voice in their behalf?<sup>22</sup>

The executive branch of the government was now severely limited in its program to provide the Navahos with adequate land. New executive order reservations were forbidden, and so were exchanges under the act of 1904 since the Smith rider provided that no new additions could be made to previously

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20. For the report of Superintendent Janus see National Archives, Record Group 75, Annual Narrative Reports, Leupp Reservation, 1918, p. 6 (Hereafter cited as *Annual Narrative Report*). For the report of Commissioner Frank Knox, dated May 28, 1917, see Leupp, 58075-17-150.

21. *Congressional Record*, Vol. 56, 65th Cong., 2d sess., p. 4194.

22. *Annual Narrative Report*, Pueblo Bonito, 1918, p. 5.

existing reservations. Several possibilities, none very satisfactory, remained. A cursory analysis of these plans will demonstrate their shortcomings.

Those Navahos who were resident on the public domain prior to June 30, 1913, could still be allotted land, but greater care would have to be exercised to comply with the regulations of the General Land Office. The futility of earlier work in this field was revealed in 1919 in a report by special agent A. W. Simington who had been sent into the field in 1918 to survey the status of the earlier allotment applications. Despite the earlier allotment figure, Simington could find records for only 2,410 applications. Of these, 618 had been approved and only 100 patented. Even worse, the agent who had made a survey and issued allotment certificates to Navahos between Thoreau, New Mexico, and the Arizona state line "never filed any of these applications in the local Land Office, so that hundreds of Navahos think they are allotted but there is no official record."<sup>23</sup> Allotment work could begin again, but as a means of controlling the public domain its work was clearly done.

Another alternative was to request funds from Congress to purchase land outright for the Navahos' benefit. In 1919 Commissioner Cato Sells himself went before Congress to urge this idea. He was given \$100,000 (41 Stat., 423), but the money was not a grant. It was to be reimbursed by the Navahos at a future date. Since they had no money, it was fruitless to talk of further grants.<sup>24</sup>

The most promising solution to the growing friction<sup>25</sup> be-

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23. Simington to Sells, December 18, 1919, Pueblo Bonito, 65898-18-304.

24. The money was used to purchase 12,000 acres near Gallup, New Mexico. The story of the transaction is related in the correspondence of October 31, 1922, and June 23, 1927, in Navaho, 17824-16-371, part 3.

25. General Hugh L. Scott of the Board of Indian Commissioners reported in 1921 that "the feeling between the two interests has been very strong, and both sides are well armed . . . the situation any day may result in a serious clash because of the failure of the Department to settle the problem equitably." "They charge [the Navahos] that the white stockmen are fencing the country, that the cow boys employed by white stockmen threatened children and older people and took cattle having Indian brands; that cow boys tore down hogans and Indian fences and that the cattlemen took possession of springs and waterholes so that the Indians could not get water for their sheep." BIC, *Special Reports*, Vol. 4, pp. 49-56.

tween the whites and the Navahos in the non-reservation areas was a plan to "block" the checkerboard. By "blocking" it was envisioned that all railroad sections in a given area would be given to the Navahos in exchange for their allotments in another area. In this way both railroad and Navaho land holdings could be consolidated into several large "blocks" and the friction occasioned by the checkerboard obviated. Sentiment for this plan was strong by 1920.

Blocking, however, was obviously no solution to the Navaho land problem, for it meant the loss of half the land the Navahos had previously used. Despite this obvious drawback the Indian Bureau, apparently believing that the increasing violence in the area had to be solved before any appeal for additional land could be made, joined in 1921 to support a measure providing for the consolidation of the non-reservation allotments in New Mexico where the conflict was most aggravated (41 Stat., 1239). The law applied to the three New Mexico counties of McKinley, San Juan, and Valencia, all of which had been involved in the 1907 withdrawal order. Despite support from both sides, no exchanges were effected under the law until 1931, because subsequent regulations issued by the Indian Bureau were so complicated as to make compliance nearly impossible.<sup>26</sup> Such was the Navaho land situation on the eve of the discovery of oil.

### III

The oil that was discovered on the Navaho reservation on September 24, 1922, was located near the eastern edge of the original treaty reservation in the vicinity of Shiprock, New Mexico.<sup>27</sup> Interest in the discovery was such that by mid-October the local agent, Evan Estep, reported to the Commissioner that his agency was being overrun "by all

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26. H. J. Hagerman to C. J. Rhoads, August 1, 1931, Navaho 64874-34-066.

27. Contrary to the statement of John Collier in his *Indians of the Americas* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1947), p. 247, that it was discovered on the "presidential decree," i.e., executive order portion.

kinds and classes of speculators, fly-by-nights, bootleggers, and other forms of criminals"<sup>28</sup> who sought to cover the Navaho lands with applications for leases. Estep's problems were compounded by a recent decision of the Secretary of the Interior which opened all Indian reservations, executive order as well as treaty, to oil prospecting and leasing.

Since 1891 there was an act which permitted the leasing of mineral deposits on treaty reservations. The law provided that "where lands are occupied by Indians who have bought and paid for the same" and where such lands were not needed for farming or were not desired for individual allotment, they might be leased by "the authority of the council speaking for such Indians, in such quantities and upon such terms as the agent in charge may recommend, subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior" (26 Stat., 795). The Department of the Interior subsequently ruled that the phrase "bought and paid for the same" applied to treaty reservations, but not to executive order reservations.

After the turn of the century attempts were made to open the executive order reservations on terms similar to those contained in the act of 1891. With the admission of Arizona to statehood the tempo of this movement increased. Between 1912 and 1919, however, the Arizona delegation in Congress found its efforts stymied by a powerful group of western Senators who were desperately attempting to stave off the demands of eastern conservationists that the public domain be leased rather than deeded to successful prospectors. These western spokesmen consistently maintained that the approval of a leasing bill for the executive order reservations would encourage the drive for leasing the public domain, and they refused the Arizona appeal. Important for our purposes is the equally consistent contention of the Arizona and New Mexico representatives that there was no true parallel between the two bills, because title to executive order reservations was vested in the Indians in much the same fashion as

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28. Estep to Burke, October 19, 1922, San Juan, 83819-21-327.

title to the treaty reservations.<sup>29</sup> This argument was somehow forgotten after 1922 when the opportunity presented itself to challenge the Navaho title to the potentially oil-rich executive order reservations.

In 1919 the opposition to leasing the public domain collapsed, and shortly thereafter the executive order reservations were opened to leasing for metaliferous minerals (41 Stat., 31). No mention was made of oil, for apparently there was no prospect of its discovery. However, an act which applied to the discovery of oil on the public domain was passed shortly after the Metaliferous Minerals bill, and this act was later to threaten Navaho oil rights.

The General Leasing Act of 1920 was a victory for the forces of conservation. Henceforth, title to public lands would not be granted to successful prospectors. Instead, in the case of oil, the most a prospector could expect would be a lease to one-fourth of his find at a maximum 5% royalty, and a preferential right to the remainder at a minimum 12.5%. Royalties collected under this act were to be divided between the reclamation fund and the state in which the oil was located in a ratio of 52.5% to 37.5%, with 10% set aside for administrative expenses. The state's percentage was to be used for the construction and maintenance of public roads or the support of public schools (41 Stat., 437). At the time no mention was made of the applicability of the General Leasing Act to executive order Indian reservations. This ingenious interpretation was reserved for the fertile mind of Albert B. Fall, Secretary of the Interior in the Harding cabinet after March 4, 1921.

On January 14, 1922, one E. M. Harrison applied for an oil prospecting permit covering a portion of the Navaho reservation withdrawn from the public domain by the executive order of May 17, 1884. His application was rejected by the Commissioner of the General Land Office who ruled, first,

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29. For a sampling of these arguments see: *Congressional Record*, Vol. 53, 64th Cong., 1st sess., p. 13777; *Ibid.*, Vol. 56, 65th Cong., 2d sess., p. 7894; U. S. Senate, Committee on Indian Affairs, *Metaliferous Minerals on Indian Reservations*, 64th Cong., 2d sess., 1918, Rept. 880, p. 3.



that he had no jurisdiction over Indian lands, and secondly, that there was no law permitting the lease of executive order reservations for oil or gas. There is no evidence to indicate Harrison's motives, but he was not daunted by the Commissioner's decision. He insisted that he had filed his application under the provisions of the General Leasing Act, and he appealed the decision directly to Secretary Fall. In other words, Harrison maintained that the executive order reservation was properly a part of the public domain, not the Navaho reservation.<sup>30</sup>

Secretary Fall accepted Harrison's argument after review, and in June, 1922, endorsed a bill for opening the executive order portions "within the Navaho Reservation in Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah, to oil and gas mining leases" on terms similar to those contained in the General Leasing Act. Fall's bill would have modified the General Leasing Act only to the extent that instead of dividing the royalties between the state and the reclamation fund, the Indians would also be included and royalties would be split equally between the three. On June 5, 1922, Fall testified in behalf of the bill:

It is my opinion that the provisions of the General Leasing law of February 25, 1920, are applicable to deposits of oil and gas within executive order Indian reservations, because of the fact that such reservations are merely public lands temporarily withdrawn by Executive order.<sup>31</sup>

When the House failed to act promptly on his bill, Fall took matters into his own hands and on June 9, 1922, issued an administrative order which placed all executive order Indian reservations under the provisions of the General Leasing Act. In so doing he reiterated his earlier testimony, stating that since these reservations had in the past been restored to entry by various presidents, they were obviously in the Indian

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30. The pertinent documents in this case are printed in Daniel M. Green (ed.), *Decisions of the Department of the Interior in Cases Relating to the Public Domain*, Vol. 49 (Washington: G.P.O., 1923), pp. 139-146.

31. U. S. House, Committee on Indian Affairs, *Hearings, Leasing Unallotted Navajo Lands*, 67th Cong., 2d sess., 1922, p. 1. See also Fall to Homer Snyder, June 7, 1922, Navaho, 44987-22-013.

custody only temporarily.<sup>32</sup> Thus when oil was discovered on the edge of the treaty reservation in September, 1922, there were many who took advantage of the Fall ruling to make application on the executive order portion as well.

An important by-product of the discovery of oil was the creation of the Navaho Tribal Council. Before the discovery Washington concerned itself but little with the need for Navaho representative government. As a result of the executive-order additions to the reservation after 1868 the Indian Bureau had divided the reservation into five sub-agencies by 1908, thus creating a situation which did little to promote tribal political unity.<sup>33</sup> When the prospectors first entered the reservation in late 1919 or early 1920, there was no tribal council in existence to deal with them.<sup>34</sup>

To comply with the law, a council was hastily summoned in the San Juan sub-agency where most of the interest was centered. This San Juan Council made no pretense of representing all the Navahos. To meet specific requests of individual prospectors, the Council met in formal session four times prior to the actual discovery of oil.<sup>35</sup> The minutes of these meetings are imperfect records; they indicate only that the Navahos around Shiprock were reluctant to lease their land, and that despite many bids they approved only two leases between the time of the first meeting on May 7, 1921, and the discovery of oil.

32. Green, *Decisions of the Department of the Interior*, Vol. 49, p. 140. The effect of this sweeping decision was to withdraw immediately the Indian claim to title from some 22,000,000 acres of land of which the Navaho share totaled about 9,000,000.

33. The five sub-agencies were: Western Navaho Agency with headquarters at Tuba City, Arizona, created in 1901; San Juan Agency at Shiprock, New Mexico, 1903; Navaho Agency (the original agency) at Ft. Defiance, Arizona, 1903; Pueblo Bonito Agency at Crownpoint, New Mexico, 1907; and Leupp Agency at Leupp, Arizona, 1908. Ruth Underhill, *The Navajos* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956), pp. 220-221.

34. In 1931 John Collier argued that there had been a Navaho Council "in existence for many years" prior to 1923: U. S. Senate, Committee on Indian Affairs, *Hearings, Survey of Conditions of Indians of the United States* (Washington: G.P.O., 1928-1943), part II, p. 4877. (Hereafter cited as *Senate Survey*.) My research in the National Archives failed to uncover any documentation for this claim. On the contrary, the evidence is that prior to the interest in oil there was not even an agency council except at Leupp, and this was clearly under the thumb of the local agent. See Leupp, 114319-14-054; San Juan 26637-19-324 and 4292-21-322.

35. For the minutes of these meetings see San Juan 4292-21-322; 63840-21-322; 88819-21-322; and 82894-1922-322.

The casual, almost careless way in which the San Juan Council was created resulted in headaches for the Bureau later. Since the Council was not designed as a permanent establishment, each time a prospector wanted to deal with it permission had to be obtained from Washington and a call issued. This clumsy and troublesome policy led the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Charles H. Burke, to advise Agent Estep at the time of the third Council meeting to secure "broad authority" from the Indians to lease their land so that the Council would not have to be called each time.<sup>36</sup> Estep was never able to secure this authority. As a result, when oil was discovered and the clamor for leases intensified, the Indian Bureau was unprepared to handle them. To solve the problem and to give all the Navahos a voice in the determination of oil policy, the Bureau resolved to create a new and permanent Council representing all the Navahos, and to appoint a Commissioner who would handle all matters pertaining to oil and gas leases.

On January 3, 1922, Herbert J. Hagerman, Territorial Governor of New Mexico in 1906-1907, was appointed to the post of Commissioner, and on January 27, 1923, a directive was issued for the creation of an all Navaho Council.<sup>37</sup> Hagerman immediately left for Washington where he conferred with Bureau officials and conducted a thorough examination of the Navaho files.<sup>38</sup> At the completion of this study he returned to New Mexico and prepared for the first Navaho Tribal Council meeting. As a result of a conference with the Navaho agents, the directive for the Council was modi-

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36. Burke to Estep, November 3, 1922, San Juan 83819-21-322.

37. I discovered the original telegrams from Secretary Fall and copies of Hagerman's replies among a collection of Hagerman's private papers entrusted to Mrs. Charles H. Dietrich of Santa Fe in a folder simply labeled "Fall folder." These valuable records were forwarded to the National Archives after Mrs. Dietrich's death in 1961. They were micro-filmed by the University of New Mexico before shipment and are available in the Coronado Room of the library. For lack of a better title, I shall designate future references to this collection as the *Dietrich Collection*.

38. The memorandum which Hagerman drew up after his study of the files is truly remarkable in its grasp of the Navaho situation. See Hagerman Memorandum, January 17, 1923, Navaho 61584-24-150.

fied to exclude some objectionable features of the original document.<sup>39</sup>

The first all-Navaho Tribal Council met at Toadlena, New Mexico, on July 7, 1923. The meeting was short. Hagerman made a brief statement explaining that the purpose of the meeting was to secure permission from the delegates for the federal government to lease the remainder of their oil and gas properties. He assured them that their cooperation in this matter would result in a greater effort by the government to secure them more land. The Council then elected Chee Dodge, prominent Navaho spokesman, to the office of Chairman, and unanimously approved a resolution drawn up in Washington which granted the Commissioner authority to sign all gas and oil leases which might in the future be granted in behalf of the tribe.<sup>40</sup> The necessary authority secured, Hagerman began making plans to lease the Navaho treaty preserve.

A major problem which now faced the Department of the Interior was the decision to lease at all, for it was becoming apparent in 1923 that the oil industry was in or approaching a bad state of overproduction. Hagerman did not favor immediate exploitation but a test of possible oil-bearing structures. Whether as a result of Hagerman's reasoning or for other reasons, the Secretary, in late August, 1923, decided to lease a portion of the treaty reservation near the site of the first discovery. Arrangements were made for a public auction to be held in Santa Fe, New Mexico, on October 15.

Despite high hopes on the part of Hagerman, this first auction did not net the Navahos a great deal. Only eight of eighteen small tracts adjoining the proven field were bid on for a total of \$22,000. An additional \$65,000 was obtained for

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39. For the original directive see *Senate Survey*, part II, pp. 4378-79. For the amended directive see *Ibid.*, pp. 4390-91.

40. Proceedings of the Navaho Tribal Council, July 7, 1923, San Juan 91993-23-054. John Collier later charged that Hagerman's appointment was part of the swindle planned by Albert B. Fall to cheat the Navahos of their oil lands, and that the new Navaho Tribal Council was a creature of the government designed to make the swindle legal. I do not agree with either Collier's evaluation of Hagerman or his judgment on the Tribal Council, and my reasons are given at length in my dissertation "The Navajos and Federal Policy, 1913-1935," on file in the University of New Mexico library.

four unproven tracts in the general vicinity: Tocito Dome, \$46,000; Table Mesa, \$17,000; Rattlesnake, \$1,000; and Beautiful Mountain, \$1,000. A major factor in the cool reception afforded the auction was the fact that the day before the sale the fourth well drilled on the proven structure turned out to be a water well.<sup>41</sup>

The plans for the formation of the Navaho Tribal Council and the Santa Fe auction were approved after Secretary Fall resigned on March 4, 1923. The Teapot Dome scandal had not yet broken, and the newspapers generally attributed Fall's decision to his inability to see eye-to-eye with President Harding on a variety of issues. Fall was succeeded by Hubert Work, a Colorado physician turned politician who, prior to this appointment, had served as Postmaster General.

Even before Teapot Dome, Secretary Work was to learn that Fall's administration was unpopular with a great many people. A few days after he assumed his new duties, Work was confronted by Commissioner Charles Burke who voiced his opposition to Fall's ruling in the Harrison case, and urged the Secretary to obtain an opinion on the ruling from the Department Solicitor. Burke's request was submitted to the Solicitor on April 18, 1923, and a few months later the latter rendered his opinion that the Fall order was not valid.<sup>42</sup> Aware by now that all was not well in the Department, Work resolved to meet growing public opposition to the government's Indian policy by issuing an invitation to some one hundred distinguished citizens to meet with him in December to discuss the problem.

The Council of One Hundred which met in Washington on December 12-13, 1923, pulled no punches. Only the resolution on the status of executive order reservations concerns us here. The committee advised that the Secretary should immediately suspend all proceedings on the sale or lease of oil, gas, and other minerals on or from executive order reser-

41. For the details of the auction see *Senate Survey*, part II, p. 4830. For the water well see Hagerman to Work, October 23, 1922, Navaho 80406-23-322.7.

42. U. S. House, Committee on Indian Affairs, *Hearings on H. R. 15021, Leasing of Executive Order Reservations*, 69th Cong., 2d sess., 1927, p. 14.

vations, pending action by Congress which, it was hoped, would "vest the title of these reservations in the Indians occupying them."<sup>43</sup> Work accordingly in mid-February, 1924, forbade the issuance of further prospecting permits on executive order reservations, and submitted to the Attorney General of the United States a memorandum which requested a ruling on two questions: (1) what title is acquired by the Indians to lands withdrawn for their benefit by executive order and (2) are such lands subject to the provisions of the General Leasing Act of 1920? The beginnings of a battle royal were under way.

On May 12, 1924, Attorney General Harlan F. Stone rendered his decision on the two questions given him by Secretary Work. The General Leasing Act, he wrote, was not applicable to executive order Indian reservations. "The important matter, however," he continued, "is that neither the Courts nor Congress have made any distinction as to the character or extent of the Indians' rights as between executive order reservations and reservations established by treaty or act of Congress."<sup>44</sup> Until one of them did so, the matter of title could not be definitely settled. In this way the issue of title was thrown back on the Congress where it was warmly debated for the next three years. The details of the battle are too lengthy for recitation here but the major events can be traced.

The first attempt to resolve the problem was made by Secretary Hubert Work. Just before the Committee of One Hundred met in Washington in December, 1923, Work introduced into both houses of Congress a bill which attempted a compromise between the opposing factions. Under the provisions of this bill, all proceeds from the leasing of executive order reservations would be deposited to the credit of the tribe for whose benefit the reservation had been created.

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43. U. S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, *Minutes of the Meeting of the Advisory Council on Indian Affairs* (Washington: mimeographed, 1923).

44. For the entire Stone decision see U. S. Department of Justice, *Official Opinions of the Attorneys-General of the United States*, Vol. 34 (Washington: G.P.O., 1926), pp. 171-192.

However, the leases themselves would be made in accordance with the provisions of the General Leasing Act. No action was taken on this bill in 1924, but in 1925 it was again introduced.

Debate on the bill in 1925 revolved about the percentage of royalties to be allowed the Indians. The House approved a plan which would give all the royalties to the Indians subject to a state production tax. Since Congress the year before had passed a new Indian Oil Leasing Act amending the act of 1891 to permit, among other things, taxation of Indian oil royalties "in all respects" the same as royalties from non-Indian lands (43 Stat., 244), to attach the provisions of this act for the treaty reservations to the Work bill for executive order reservations was to imply that the two were the same. The Senate, however, successfully opposed this measure and insisted that the Indians pay 37.5% of their royalties to the state in which the reservation was located, "in lieu of taxes;" that is, the same share that the state would have received under the General Leasing Act. The amended Work bill was then killed in the House at the urging of Indian Commissioner Charles Burke.<sup>45</sup>

Commissioner Burke undermined the Work bill because it placed the leasing of Indian oil lands under the provisions of the General Leasing Act. This meant that the supervision of Indian leases would be entrusted not to the Indian Bureau but to the General Land Office which had cognizance over the public domain. Burke insisted that the same law apply to both kinds of reservations; furthermore, he was opposed to granting the states any portion of the Indian royalties.<sup>46</sup>

With the defeat of Work's bill by his own Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the initiative for a solution shifted to the Congress. In February, 1926, Representative Carl Hayden of Arizona presented a second plan. Hayden's proposal satis-

45. U. S. House, Committee on Indian Affairs, *Hearings on H. R. 8823, Leasing of Allotted Indian Lands*, 69th Cong., 1st sess., 1926, pp. 70-71.

46. *Ibid.*, p. 71. Burke never went on record openly favoring the equating of treaty and executive order reservations. John Collier vehemently denounced the Commissioner for his reluctance to take a stand on the issue, and maintained that he was perpetrating the Fall scheme. In my dissertation I ascribe other reasons for Burke's reticence.

fied Burke's previous objection by providing that the leasing of executive order reservations be in accordance with the Indian Oil Leasing Act of 1924. It attempted to compromise between the Senate and Burke on the taxation of royalties, giving 37.5% to the states provided that such monies be used for the construction of public roads within the reservation, or for the support of public schools attended by Indian children.<sup>47</sup> Although he was not entirely satisfied with the bill, Commissioner Burke gave it his support, stating that it was essentially in accord with the Bureau's position since provision was made for expenditure of all the tax monies in behalf of the Indian.<sup>48</sup>

The Senate, however, was not placated. Senators Sam G. Bratton of New Mexico and A. A. Jones of Arizona attempted to block the Hayden bill by substituting measures of their own. Jones wanted to make the General Leasing Act applicable to executive order reservations and to remove the strings from the 37.5% grant to the states. Bratton favored administration of the leases under the Indian Oil Leasing Act, but wished also to free the states of any restrictions in the use of their share of the Indian royalties.<sup>49</sup> Opposition to all three bills was aroused when John Collier, Executive Secretary of the American Indian Defense Association, bluntly declared that all the proposals were dodging the real issue of Indian title. Each of the bills, in one way or the other, he charged, implied that title to executive order reservations was in the federal government. It would be very difficult, "perhaps impossible," he said, to pass a law authorizing the development of these areas without adopting a theory on the nature of title.<sup>50</sup>

As a result of Collier's opposition and the simultaneous passage of a pork-barrel appropriation which saddled the

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47. U. S. House, Committee on Indian Affairs, *Hearings on H.R. 9139, Leasing of Executive Order Reservations*, 69th Cong., 1st sess., 1926, pp. 1-2.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

49. U. S. Senate, Committee on Indian Affairs, *Hearings on S. 1722 and S. 3159, Development of Oil and Gas Mining Laws on Indian Reservations*, 69th Cong., 1st sess., 1926, pp. 1-3.

50. *Ibid.*, pp. 71, 75, 90.



Navahos with a \$100,000 levy for a bridge across the San Juan River in Arizona, Congressional sentiment began to turn against the pending bills. Senators Burton K. Wheeler and Robert LaFollette pronounced in favor of administering the leases under the Indian Oil Leasing Act of 1924 and giving the Indians 100% of the royalties, subject to a state production tax. In May Senator Ralph H. Cameron of Arizona introduced a bill which satisfied all of Collier's objections. Although this measure did not specifically equate the treaty and executive order reservations, its implications were clearly in that direction. This was so true that Senator Bratton, in a last ditch attempt to overthrow the bill, introduced an amendment which would have declared that nothing in the bill should be construed to affect the title to the lands in question or to declare a permanent policy of Congress respecting such titles. His amendment was defeated in committee by a six to two vote.<sup>51</sup> On March 3, 1927, President Coolidge signed the Cameron bill into law, thus ending the debate (44 Stat., 1347).

The Indian Oil Act of 1927 marked a significant turning point in the history of federal Indian policy. Since the passage of the Dawes Act in 1887, the prevailing attitude of Congress was to destroy the Indian land base. The legislation of 1912 and 1918 forbidding the president to increase the Navaho reservation by executive decree and the decision of Secretary Fall in the Harrison case were clearly in this tradition. Now the trend was reversed. Although the question of title was never explicitly resolved, the debates revealed that it was the intent of Congress to equate the treaty and executive order reservations as nearly as possible without making a formal declaration to that effect. As if to make this clear the act contained a clause which relieved the executive branch of its power to restore executive order reservations to the public domain. The circle was rounded. From this time forward the opponents of the traditional Indian policy, led by

51. U. S. Senate, Committee on Indian Affairs, *Hearings on S. 3159 and 4152, Development of Oil and Gas Leases on Indian Reservations*, 69th Cong., 2d sess., 1926, pp. 75, 84.

John Collier, made steady progress toward their goal of restoring the Indian reservations.

#### IV

Despite the furor occasioned by Fall's decision in the Harrison case, no oil was discovered on the executive order portions of the reservation until many years after the controversy had been resolved. Nor did the field discovered on the treaty reservation make the Navahos wealthy. In 1927 the market price of oil dropped disastrously with the result that reservation production was curtailed. The Great Depression and a partial failure on the Rattlesnake field in 1931 lowered royalties from \$119,425 in 1930 to \$52,401.<sup>52</sup> Not until 1956 did oil royalties appreciably exceed this smaller figure. In all, the royalties received from the time of the initial discovery through 1937 amounted to only \$1,227,705.19.<sup>53</sup> The effects of the oil discovery were thus out of all proportion to the value of the oil extracted. Not only did the discovery result in the creation of the Navaho Tribal Council and the resolution of the status of executive order reservations, but it also brought about the further expansion of the reservation to its present boundaries.

At its annual meetings in 1926 and 1927 the Navaho Tribal Council, prompted by Commissioner Hagerman, voted to set aside 20% and later 25% of the annual oil royalties for the purchase of additional land in Arizona and New Mexico for those Navahos living outside the reservation boundaries.<sup>54</sup> Although approved by the Navahos, this plan could not be implemented, under the terms of the Indian Oil Leasing Act of 1927, until it received Congressional approval. In early 1928 Senator Ashurst submitted a bill for this purpose.

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52. Hagerman to Charles J. Rhoads, June 14, 1932, National Archives, Record Group 75, Special Agent's File, H. J. Hagerman, # 300. See also U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1934* (Washington: G.P.O., 1935), p. 98.

53. William Zimmerman to Senator Elmer Thomas, May 28, 1937, Navaho 15529-37-322.

54. Minutes of the Navaho Tribal Council, Ft. Defiance, Arizona, July 7-8, 1926, General Services, 34976-26-054. Minutes of the Navaho Tribal Council, Crownpoint, New Mexico, July 7-8, 1927, General Services, 26881-27-054.

The Ashurst bill provided for a government expenditure of \$1,200,000, reimbursable from the Navaho tribal fund, for the purchase of land and water rights for Navahos living on the public domain. The figure was based on an estimate of Navaho needs figured at 800,000 acres at an average price of \$1.50 an acre.<sup>55</sup> It was violently opposed in New Mexico and there was some talk of making it applicable only to Arizona. In the end, however, the substance of the bill was attached to an urgently needed deficiency appropriation and by this ruse became law (45 Stat., 899).

In 1929 the first step in the expansion of the reservation was laid before the Council. It contemplated the expenditure of \$217,000 for three strategically located water holes in Arizona, a fourth tract in New Mexico for the Enemy Navaho near Ramah, and a fifth purchase of 94,000 acres of Santa Fe land located in both Arizona and New Mexico. The Council unanimously accepted the resolution and urged the expenditure of the entire \$1,200,000 before prices went up.<sup>56</sup> Before the 1930 meeting these areas had been purchased and, with the cooperation of the new Secretary of the Interior, Ray Lyman Wilbur, and the active backing of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Charles J. Rhoads, Commissioner Hagerman began to draw up a master plan for the complete solution of the Navaho land problem. When finally completed in 1932, this ambitious program called for the addition of some 3,000,000 acres to the reservation by purchase, consolidation, and transfer from other government agencies.<sup>57</sup>

From the Forestry Service the Indian Bureau hoped to get some land in the Tusayan National Forest which bordered on the western extremity of the reservation in Arizona. There was no opposition and in 1930 and 1931 acts were approved

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55. U. S. House, Committee on Appropriations, *Hearings on Department of the Interior Appropriation Bill, Fiscal 1930*, 70th Cong., 2d sess., 1928, p. 759.

56. The purchases were as follows: 20,000 acres near Tappan's Spring, Arizona, from the Babbitt Brothers Co. for \$60,000; 9,000 acres near Ramah, New Mexico, from the Vogt Sheep Co. for \$22,000; two tracts in the Castle Butte region of Arizona known respectively as the Baily tract (147 acres for \$7,000) and the Marty tract (10,240 acres for \$34,000); and the Santa Fe lands for \$94,000.

57. U. S. Senate, *The Navajo Indian Reservation*, Doc. 16, 72d Cong., 1st sess., 1932.

transferring 144,500 acres from the Forest to the Navaho reservation (46 Stat., 378, 1204). From the General Land Office the Bureau sought a 600,000 acre tract in southern Utah known as the Piute Strip. This area had once been administered as a part of the Navaho reservation from 1884 to 1892, then restored to the public domain. Except for a brief period in the 1920's during the oil boom, this rugged and generally forbidding space was not coveted by whites. By 1929 the oilmen had abandoned their sites and there was no good reason for not giving it to the Navahos. Some delay was experienced over the terms of the transfer, but in 1933 the land was at last turned over to the Navahos with the understanding that if oil were ever discovered, 37.5% of the royalties would be given to the state of Utah (47 Stat., 418).

Where white land interests were involved the Navahos encountered resistance. The purchase of the three water holes in Arizona in 1929 was designed to insure Navaho control over a much larger area of grazing land until these lands could be purchased. But the prospect of greater Navaho ownership in the three Arizona counties of Coconino, Navaho, and Apache, alarmed the taxpayers there who complained that their tax structure, already weakened by the depression and drought, would be further endangered if the land passed to the Indians and thus became immune to taxation. A meeting of interested parties held in Winslow, Arizona, in 1931 resulted in local support for a plan whereby railroad land and Navaho allotments would be exchanged and blocked and the Navahos permitted to buy out several white ranchers.<sup>58</sup> Opposition to the extension in New Mexico could not be resolved and, since the proposed additions in both states were incorporated into one bill, the measure went down to defeat in 1931, 1932, and 1933.

Opposition to these bills actually stemmed from two sources. On the one hand, Senators Bratton and Cutting of

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58. For the Arizona opposition see U. S. Senate, *Improvement of Conditions on Indian Reservations in Arizona*, Doc. 16, 71st Cong., 1st sess., 1929, p. 80. For the Winslow meeting see Hagerman to Rhoads, August 1, 1931, General Services, 35878-31-054.

New Mexico, speaking for the stockmen of their states, opposed any and all attempts to enlarge the reservation in New Mexico except by consolidation under the act of 1921. On the other hand, John Collier fought the clause in the bills which would have relinquished the Navaho right to allotment once the boundary extension were concluded. It was Collier's argument that, since the Navahos in New Mexico required 1,350,000 acres but under the provisions of these bills would only get 243,000 acres, the right to allotment must be preserved.<sup>59</sup>

Since no opposition was offered by Collier or the citizens of Arizona to the extension there, separate bills for the two states were introduced in 1934. Each provided for the relinquishment of privately owned lands within the proposed reservation extensions, the owners to be permitted to select other public lands within the same county. In addition, certain privately owned lands could be purchased by the Navahos outright. For this purpose \$482,136 for New Mexico and \$481,879 for Arizona, reimbursable from the Navaho treasury, were authorized.<sup>60</sup> Secretary Harold L. Ickes assured local residents of both states that the proposed extensions were "the ultimate line to which the Indians can hope to expand the reservation." The Arizona bill was passed (48 Stat., 860), thus adding approximately 1,000,000 acres to the reservation, but the New Mexico opposition held fast and defeated the extension in their state. The best the Navahos were able to do in New Mexico was to exchange some 245,898 acres with the Santa Fe and to purchase an additional 123,678 acres in McKinley County from the New Mexico and Arizona Land Co., a subsidiary of the Frisco.<sup>61</sup>

59. Hagerman maintained that some concession must be made to the traditional New Mexican opposition, and he charged Collier was antagonizing the New Mexican stockmen unreasonably with his demands for future allotment. Collier was undoubtedly right in principle, but his dogmatic stand, as Hagerman had warned, ended in defeat for the New Mexico extension.

60. U. S. Senate, Committee on Indian Affairs, *Define the Exterior Boundaries of the Navajo Reservation in New Mexico and for Other Purposes*, 73d Cong., 2d sess., 1934, Rept. 1074.

61. For the Santa Fe negotiations see William S. Greever, *Arid Domain* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1954), pp. 133-135. For the New Mexico and Arizona Land Co. transaction see the company file #117 in the Korber Building, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Bills for the extension of the reservation in New Mexico were introduced regularly throughout the remainder of the 1930's, but the passage of the Taylor Grazing Act in 1934 rang down the curtain on any serious negotiations along this line. The purpose of the Taylor Act was to put a halt to overgrazing on the public domain. To establish effective control, all public lands in the West were withdrawn from entry, thus ending the threat of future Navaho allotments. The white stockmen, confident now that they could dominate the range through their control of the advisory boards established by the act, saw no need to make any concessions to the Navahos. The boundaries of the reservation today are substantially those worked out in 1934.

## THE "KING OF NEW MEXICO" AND THE DONIPHAN EXPEDITION

*By* RALPH A. SMITH\*

THE contributions of the Captain of the professional scalp hunters of New Mexico and Chihuahua to victory in the Mexican War has never received due attention. This story began near sunset on Christmas Day, 1846, when a heavily armed horseman rode up to the west bank of the Rio Grande at Brazito about thirty miles north of El Paso del Norte. Half a dozen Delaware and Shawnee Indians were following him. Seeing troops on the opposite bank, he called to them. As he talked back and forth with the soldiers, officers of the troops came out and asked him many questions. They demanded his identity and ordered him to cross the River. The stocky, gray bearded mountain man rode his horse into the stream with his retinue following and came up on the east bank into the camp of the First Regiment of Missouri Mounted Volunteers.

Every word and act of the strange rider struck the imagination of the Missourians. They agreed that his fringed buckskin hunting shirt and breeches clothed a mighty tough old bird. On his head was cocked a broad Mexican hat, and huge spurs embellished with Mexican finery jingled at his heels. He carried a Jake Hawkins rifle elegantly ornamented with silver inlaid on the stock, and pistols and daggers swung about his hips and waist. Though fifty-four years old and weighing about 175 pounds he moved as smoothly as an athlete. His steed was a fine, spirited "scalping horse" to which he gave the sort of care which seemed to say that the animal had carried him through some crises during his scalp hunting days.

The Missouri boys led the rider to their commander, Colonel Alexander Doniphan. He spoke in a way that commanded attention, but also evoked speculation and created an air of mystery. The Volunteers listened to his story, and some pronounced it among the most fantastic that they had ever heard.

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\*665 E.N. 15th Street, Abilene, Texas

The speaker identified himself as James Kirker.<sup>1</sup> The Mexican world knew him as *don Santiago Querque*, and the American as don Santiago Kirker.

Born in Belfast, Ireland, in 1793, he had arrived in New York in 1810. During the War of 1812 he had prowled the Atlantic on an American privateer, the *Black Joke*. He had entered St. Louis in 1817 and Santa Fe in 1824. After marrying a Mexican woman, his home life in El Paso del Norte alternated with trapping along the Gila and inter-play in Rio Grande Valley politics to the point that his only extant picture bears the caption "Don Santiago Kirker when King of New Mexico." In addition to his interest in furs and politics he had contracted at intervals for a decade with the government of Chihuahua to scalp hostile Indians. Much of his "hair raising" had occurred in New Mexico, where he spent more of his life than in any other state. Indeed no other person even equalled his deliveries of Apache, Comanche, Navaho, and Ute hair and ears to public scalp markets. The very thought of his hair hunting amazed such Doniphan Volunteers as Private Marcellus Bell Edwards and Meredith T. Moore, since only a few weeks previously Edwards and other troopers had danced around Navaho and Pueblo Indian scalps while campaigning west of Santa Fe. Kirker's impression upon Moore was strong enough that this Missourian recorded the best extant description of the "Lord of the Scalp Hunters" sixty years later.

The government of Chihuahua still owed Kirker \$30,000 for human "pelts" which he had delivered up to the time of his last big raid on an Indian camp. Instead of paying him, however, Governor don Angel Trías had repudiated his claims. Don Santiago had antagonized the Governor further by hesitating to accept a colonel's command in a Chihuahuan army

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1. Kirker's longest biographical sketches are "Don Santiago Kirker," *Republican* (Santa Fe, N.M.), November 20, 1847, and Glen Dawson *et al.* (eds.), *Don Santiago Kirker: the Indian Fighter* (Los Angeles, 1948). For a description of Kirker and of his appearance at Doniphan's camp see: William Elsey Connelley (ed.), *Doniphan's Expedition and the Conquest of New Mexico and California* (Kansas City, 1907), 101f, 388; Frank S. Edwards, *A Campaign in New Mexico with Colonel Doniphan* (Philadelphia, 1847), 96; Ralph P. Bieber (ed.), *Marching with the Army of the West 1846-1848* (Glendale, California, 1936), 237.



under preparation to fight the American invaders. Kirker had probably already established contact with an American agent, John Wiley Magoffin of the well-known Missouri merchant family, by the time of the offer. The United States War Department had sent Magoffin southward to facilitate the conquest of Chihuahua for General John Ellis Wool and Colonel Doniphan. Wool had instructions to march from Saltillo and to meet Doniphan in Chihuahua City. Whether Kirker had met Magoffin before or after the Mexicans had arrested this trader at El Paso and sent him to Chihuahua City cannot be said. Neither do we know if Trías had heard of their collusion. Anyway the Governor had threatened to jail Kirker and his Delawares, whereupon don Santiago had left Chihuahua and reported to Doniphan that he had fled to join him and to show his loyalty to the United States. However, he probably did not mention that he was a naturalized citizen of Mexico, nor that Trías had offered five times as much money (\$10,000) for his "scalp" as was ever paid for any human crown in the hair markets of Mexico. For seventeen days he had ridden through deserts, mountains, and wilderness with as much of his "little army"<sup>2</sup> as he could get together. One of his best scalpers, Chuly, had set out across Texas for his home in the Creek Nation, while some of his Delawares had continued up the Rio Grande toward their territorial homes.

Regardless of Kirker's popularity with the troopers, their officers were skeptical of his story. They did not foresee that his knowledge of the enemy's country, language, customs, war preparations, and morale might be worth as much as another regiment to the invaders. In the matter of Mexican language alone he spoke Spanish so fluently that he even used English with a Spanish accent. His information on roads, water holes, and forage was unlimited. When don Santiago was told that the Missourians had whipped over 1,200 Mexicans under Lt. Col. Ponce de León earlier in the afternoon and had sent them pell mell back toward El Paso, he rejoiced.

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2. Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, edited by Max L. Moorhead (Norman, Oklahoma, 1958), 228.

But the officers reasoned that he must be a decoy sent to lead them into a trap. If he told them that de León's army was the very one in which Trías had offered him a command, it must have puzzled them more. When he tendered his services to Doniphan and his staff, they acted overjoyed and accepted at once, but with misgivings.<sup>3</sup> The Commander thought of don Santiago's years of military service to the enemy with a rank as high as colonel. Besides Kirker's family still lived in Chihuahua. Doniphan evinced that one involved in such a lurid profession as scalping could be only a surreptitious faker at best. Nevertheless, he added the Scalp Chief to Captain Thomas Forsythe's platoon of mountain men whom he had collected since leaving Ft. Leavenworth. Doniphan ordered his Missourians to shoot the old fellow at the least sign of treachery. With the Governor's \$10,000 tag on his head and the Colonel's command to fill him with lead if he acted queer, one wonders how don Santiago could have lasted long in America's paradise for bounty hunters. But this was nothing especially novel for Mister Jim. For a generation he had skirted the laws of nations and operated in a sort of no-man's land. America's master scalper had dodged at least two previous Mexican bounties on his head, not to mention the craving of the Apaches, Comanches, Navahos, Utes and other Indian nations for his locks.

Kirker went out with Doniphan's scouts on the morning of December 26 before most of the Missourians broke camp.

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3. Sources used for Kirker's part in Doniphan's campaign from Brazito through the Battle of Sacramento are: Connelley (ed.), *op. cit.*, *et passim*; Edwards, *op. cit.*, 169-179; Julius Fröbel, *Aus Amerika*, II (Leipzig, 1858), 205f; Ralph P. Bieber (ed.), *Journal of a Soldier under Kearny and Doniphan 1846-1847* (Glendale, California, 1935), *et passim*; Adolphus Wislizenus, *Memoir of a Tour to Northern Mexico, Connected with Col. Doniphan's Expedition, in 1846 and 1847*, in *U.S. Senate Miscellaneous Documents*, num. 26, 30th Cong., 1st sess. (Washington, 1848), 39-47; Bieber (ed.), *Marching with the Army of the West*, 236f; *U.S. Senate Executive Documents*, num. 1, 30th Cong., 1st sess., 498-513; Jacob S. Robinson, *A Journal of the Santa Fe Expedition under Colonel Doniphan* (Princeton, 1932), 65ff; Maurice Garland Fulton (ed.), *Diary & Letters of Josiah Gregg, Excursion in Mexico and California 1847-1850* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1944), 101ff; Stella M. Drumm (ed.), *Down the Santa Fe Trail and into Mexico, the Diary of Susan Shelby Magoffin 1846-1847* (New Haven, Connecticut, 1926), xix; *Republican Extra* (Santa Fe, N.M.), August 8, 1849; *Arkansas State Gazette*, May 22, 1847.

Word that "the TERROR of the Apaches"<sup>4</sup> had joined the "hairy devils" from Missouri preceded him. His companions related that the "notorious" Kirker became as "terrifying" to the Mexicans as he had been to the Indians. Once Chihuahuans had idolized don Santiago as their hero, but now he personified their worst priest-inspired dreams of half-savage, devil worshipping Anglo-Americans.<sup>5</sup> The old indictment of heresy that the Political Chief of New Mexico had stuck to him in 1835 along with an \$800 reward for his head was revived, and the charge of treason added. With the people, the "Irish traitor"<sup>6</sup> became the symbol of a whole "perfidious" nation of Americans. The zeal of one of Kirker's fellow townsmen, the priest Ramon Ortiz of El Paso del Norte, in stirring up anti-American feeling helped to make his name a byword.

Kirker saw few Mexicans during the first day after Brazito. Near night he camped with the Missouri regiment of self-styled "ring-tailed roarers" about fifteen miles above El Paso. For one held in such apprehension, his comments created much indecision. Officers shied at every word of advice that he gave. When events followed his predictions, it made his statements more of a puzzle to them. As the column started early on the morning of the twenty-seventh, he alone insisted that there would be no severe engagement during the day. Doniphan's staff interpreted this to mean that the invaders must be prepared for anything. In fact don Santiago said that the Mexicans would fight no more along the Rio Grande. He knew that de León's soldiers had fled through El Paso and were flying toward Fort Carrizal. The "King of New Mexico" had an odd intuition for learning things and an uncanny genius for explaining them, which he had demonstrated best in 1845, when Governor Trías had offered \$9,000 for his scalp.

4. Connelley (ed.), *op. cit.*, 388.

5. For a picture of the religious apprehensions in Mexico toward Protestant Americans at this time see: Connelley (ed.), *op. cit.*, 88; LeRoy H. Hafen (ed.), *Ruxton of the Rockies* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1950), 143; Bieber (ed.), *Journal of a Soldier under Kearny and Doniphan, 1846-1847*, 99.

6. *Boletín de la sociedad chihuahuense de estudios historicos*, II, num. 2 (julio de 1939), 71.

Kirker was "the chief of the Apache nation"<sup>7</sup> at that time, "chief" at least to the extent that he fenced for some of the mountain tribes to dispose of their stolen livestock. Hearing of this big price, he had gone down to Chihuahua City with his retainers to talk the thing over with the Governor. In the end he had signed a contract with Trías, returned to the very village where he had been "chief," and brought to His Excellency over \$10,000 worth of hair from the heads of his former "subjects." As the Lord of the Scalp Hunters approached El Paso with Doniphan, he formed a part of Lt. Col. David D. Mitchell's vanguard. Time soon told whether the Missourians could trust him, or whether he was simply trying to ensnare them for one of his hair "harvests," which some of the Mexicans had hoped earlier that he would make on the invaders.

About eight miles above El Paso the van detected a large body of Mexican men advancing on the opposite side of the River. The Mexicans displayed a white flag, and fear that they were soldiers ready to do battle gave way to vindication for don Santiago's word. Among this party of Mexicans were members of the same municipal council of El Paso who examined, tallied, and certified Indian scalps for payment when Kirker had brought them into this place. Ready to surrender the town, the delegation received the guard with friendly gestures. Other citizens gave the invaders bread and all of the "Pass wine" that they could guzzle, but nothing indicated that they were overly unctious toward their distinguished fellow citizen. With these formalities over, Kirker led Doniphan's undisciplined, tumultous, profane "roarers" down the east bank of the Rio Grande to the site of present El Paso, Texas. Crossing at a ford, don Santiago's new Nordic companions wound along a crooked road between orchards and vineyards. The townspeople brought out fruits, sweetmeats, and more wine to welcome his companions, as the Scalp Captain had intimated that they would do. He and the Volunteers

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7. James Hobbs, *Wild Life in the Far West: Personal Adventures of a Border Mountain Man* (Hartford, Connecticut, 1872), 81.

stormed through city gates which normally exhibited specimens of his trade wrung from Indian heads. Besides its reputation for pretty women and mission spirits blessed and blinking, don Santiago's home town offered other distinctions reminiscent of his Indian encounters. One was natives swinging by the necks in the belfry of the cathedral, or from beams extending from it. Though Kirker's homecoming was on the second day after Christmas, the invaders camped south of the plaza and found enough light-spirit fog still in the air to enjoy the local atmosphere.

The Scalp Captain's stock inched upward with the Missourians from privates to officers as events worked out like he had said that they would. His words passed from mouth to mouth, and Missouri boys jotted them down in letters and journals. They found his fellow townspeople more delightful, handsome, intelligent, and cleaner than those at Santa Fe. Kirker had traveled their same path more than twenty years before. Apparently his dark eyes had glowed too at vibrant *señoritas* swinging their hips along the streets, for he had found a "handsome,"<sup>8</sup> well-bred lady here and had made her *Señora Querque*. Don Santiago had at least two children by her, Joseph and Petra, and an alleged daughter by a Mexican woman in Santa Fe. He had left his wife at Corralitos in northwestern Chihuahua when fleeing from Trías to join the invaders. Petra was eighteen or twenty years old now. She might have been in El Paso and might have met a certain young trader in the merchant train following her father and the army at this time. This trader's name was Samuel F. Bean, who came from a family of Kentucky wonders. One of his brothers was Roy, later "The Law West of the Pecos," and another was General Edmund Bean of California history. Petra and Sam married several years later and brought two of the best known Scotch-Irish names in the west under the same roof.

The town called Ciudad Juarez captured Kirker's companions like Philadelphia took Howe. For forty-two days they

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8. Narrative of B. D. Wilson, typed MS., Berkeley, California, Bancroft Library.

lingered on the streets, about the market place, and in gaming dives and bawdy houses. But the New Mexican Scalp Chief could not give himself over entirely to a homecoming celebration, nor expose his valuable head too freely, for Doniphan kept him busy outside of town with scouting and foraging parties much of the time. This was to be expected for no one in camp knew where Mexicans might hide their corn and fodder better than don Santiago did. He led Captain David Waldo and a squad up the Rio Grande on January 5 to look for stock, just anybody's stock, Mexicans', Indians', or animals stolen from the regiment. Apaches and Mexicans were fair game also. The "redskins" stayed out of his reach in the mountains, but Waldo, Lachlan McLean, and others got their biggest thrills when they had to hold spurs to their horses to keep up with Kirker as he flew after small parties of Mexicans. These wretches fled from him like wild deer. After eight or ten days of this "sport," he guided his companions back into camp.

Shortly Mister Jim and Captain Waldo were foraging and looking for stolen stock in the sierra again. The records say nothing about what Kirker brought in on January 28, but a good guess would be that he did not return empty handed. When Doniphan set February 8 as the date for resuming the march, it meant that the Scalp Captain would be out gathering work animals and collecting information on developments down south almost continuously. Failing to find oxen that Mexicans had stolen, he and Lt. Graves nabbed six citizens to hold as hostages pending the return of the animals. Kirker re-entered town on the seventh about the same time that patrolmen came in from the south and two messengers arrived from the north. These other parties brought intelligence very important to the Scalp Chief.

The party of patrolmen were under Captain John W. Reid and had two captives who had come from Chihuahua City. After the Missourians dangled them in a noose until almost dead, they divulged that a figure also prominent in the scalp traffic was coming to deal with Kirker and the Americans whom don Santiago was guiding into Chihuahua. He was José

A. Heredia, Governor and Commandant General of Durango. His duties included administration of the bounty laws of his State whose enactment don Santiago had influenced. Heredia would leave Chihuahua City in a few days with 1,800 men to meet the invaders, according to the two captives. The pair of messengers arriving from up the Rio Grande had brought an exciting story about a rebellion of Pueblo Indians, Mexicans, and don Santiago's Delawares who had dropped in at Taos after leaving him near Brazito. The rebels had killed twenty Americans and Mexicans, and scalped some of them in good "kirkeresque" form. The story sounded to the Scalp King like a recital of events on September 5, 1839, when he and his "little army" had slaughtered forty Apaches at Taos on one of the better days of scalp hunting history. The best known persons to lose hair at Taos in the latest spree of Kirker's scalpers were Governor Charles Bent, James White Leal, and young Narciso Beaubien around whose scalp a "big dance" was held.<sup>9</sup> The reports from both north and south raised some inter-related problems for Kirker and Doniphan. The Colonel had to decide whether to retreat, to remain in El Paso, or to advance as planned, and don Santiago had to do some clarifying. Was the Scalp Captain part of this conspiracy against American rule? Many of his old Mexican friends had participated in it. The role of his Delawares made his complicity appear more possible, especially since Big Nigger, Jim Swan-nik, Jim Dickey, and Little Beaver, who had followed Kirker up to Brazito, had scalped Governor Bent *et al.*, according to some sources, and had killed most or all of Colonel Sterling Price's dead in the suppression of the revolt. These Delawares had fled to the mountains then, where they had followed don Santiago in earlier days. White men put up a reward for Big Nigger's scalp, but the only time that anybody ever collected

9. For the story of the Pueblo Revolt see: Alcance al *Faro* (Ciudad Chihuahua, Chi.), febrero 17 de 1847; *El Registro Oficial* (Victoria de Durango, Dgo.), febrero 28 de 1847; *Arkansas State Gazette*, May 1, 1847; Hafen (ed.), *op. cit.*, 191f, 266; J. P. Dunn, *Masacres of the Mountains, a History of the Indian Wars of the Far West* (New York, 1886), 62-76; T. D. Bonner (ed.), *The Life and Adventures of James P. Beckwourth* (New York, 1931), 335f; Ralph P. Bieber (ed.), *Wah-To-Yah and the Taos Trail* (Glendale, California, 1938), 177f, 243ff, and *Marching with the Army of the West*, 244f.

a cent for the hair of one of don Santiago's "barbers" was when he was killed in Kirker's own service. Then the Celt himself would carry his hair to market with "pelts" raised from the heads of "redskins" or brunette peons, pitch it down before the tally men with the others, and do the collecting personally.

In the end don Santiago talked himself out of the current predicament. Of course, he was not in any scheme to mislead the Missourians, or to strike them from behind. He reiterated his loyalty and his preference to serve Americans to "fleecing" Apaches for a bankrupt Mexican state. Urging Doniphan to advance on schedule, the Scalp Captain insisted that Mexicans were exaggerating the extent of the revolt in order to detain the invaders. Furthermore, the enemy in the south could not hold back the Missourians if they advanced. Kirker had many bases for his advice which Doniphan knew little about, including Comanche and Apache raids that had left Mexico prostrate as far south as the Tropic of Cancer. These raids plus Kirker's hair deliveries had helped to keep Chihuahua broke financially. The "King of New Mexico" told Doniphan that the Mexicans would be unable to present more than a thousand "cowardly militia men and troops"<sup>10</sup> in arms. These would be under inefficient officers and inadequately equipped. Official Mexican reports confirm that Kirker pointed to his scalp contracts as evidence, that since the Mexicans could not protect themselves against the savages, they certainly could not defend themselves from American riflemen.<sup>11</sup> Both American and Mexican sources assert that as

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10. *El Registro Oficial*, febrero 28 de 1847.

11. For information directly or indirectly from Mexican sources helpful on the part of the scalp hunters in the Brazito-Sacramento Campaign see: Enrique Gonzáles Flores, *Chihuahua de la independencia a la revolución* (Ciudad Mexico, 1949), 75, y "Invasión norteamericana," *Boletín de la sociedad chihuahuense de estudios históricos*, IV, núm. 8 (enero 20 de 1943), 304f; *El Registro Oficial*, diciembre 24 de 1846, enero 3, 7, y 14, febrero 25 y 28, y marzo 4 y 7 de 1847; *El Faro*, febrero 8 de 1848; Documents for the History of Chihuahua, Extracts from Mss. & Printed Matter in the Collection of Mons. Alphonse Pinart, II, in Bancroft Library, Berkeley, Cal., 36 ff; Alcance al *Registro Oficial*, núm. 506, diciembre 18 de 1846, y núm. 537, abril 6 de 1847; Suplemento al *Registro Oficial*, núm. 505, diciembre 12 de 1846; *Boletín de la sociedad chihuahuense de estudios históricos*, II, núm. 2 (julio 15 de 1939), 71; F. M. Gallahar, "Official Report of the Battle of Temascalitos (Brazito)," *New*



Doniphan and his staff wavered between moving against Chihuahua City and waiting for word from Colonel Price, the Scalp Captain told him to go forward without hesitation. Indeed, Mexican sources credit Kirker with supplying the incentive that caused Doniphan to move out on schedule. Don Santiago also transfused his high spirit through the ranks of the "roarers," though no one in camp knew where to find General Wool, whom the Missourians were supposed to meet in Chihuahua City. With the situation in Kirker's favor now, the scalp King could show contempt for Trías' reward offer.

At eight o'clock on Monday, February 8, don Santiago guided an excited train of Missouri boys and merchants out of El Paso. Rumors spread southward that the "Irish traitor" was coming at the head of a horde of pagan Protestants seeking vengeance which would outdo any of his previous "fleecing" sprees. Twenty miles below El Paso he left camp on Tuesday with Captain Forsythe and six or seven other scouts. Doniphan instructed him to range deep into the enemy country. The Celt avoided roads to escape Mexicans aware of the value of his hair and Apaches who wanted to settle old scores. Of course, as a former "chief of the Apache nation" he knew that savages were perching upon sierra peaks throughout the countryside and watching every thing that moved below. Although nothing was a better antidote for Apache visits than the most successful professional scalp hunter that America ever had, warriors nevertheless prowled around Doniphan's train and ran horses, mules, and oxen into the hills.

Kirker and his squad carried only a few supplies along on pack mules. They intended to live by don Santiago's resource-

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*Mexico Historical Review*, III, num. 4 (October, 1928), 385ff; Francisco R. Almada, *Diccionario historia, geografía y biografía chihuahuense* (Ciudad Chihuahua, Chi., 1927), 14, 326f, 715; Romulo Jaurrieta, "Batalla de Sacramento febrero 28 de 1847," *Boletín de la sociedad chihuahuense de estudios históricos*, VII, núm. 4, (julio y agosto de 1950), 413-420; Leon Barri, Jr., "Granitos de historia," *Boletín de la sociedad chihuahuense de estudios históricos*, VII, núm. 8 (enero y febrero de 1951), 513; Francisco R. Almada, "Gobernadores del estado: XXII.—Gral. D. Angel Trias, Sr.," III, núms. 10 y 11 (julio y agosto de 1941), 175f, y "Gobernadores. . . : XXIII.—Coronel Mauricio Ugarte," IV, núm. 3, p. 87, en *Boletín de la sociedad chihuahuense de estudios históricos*; *Arkansas State Gazette*, April 24, 1847; Albert C. Ramsey (ed.), Ramón Alcares's, *The Other Side: or Notes for the History of the War between Mexico and the United States* (New York City, 1850), 168, 171 et seq.

fulness at finding wild game, which one source extolled.<sup>12</sup> Within a day they used up their food, but Kirker continued winding through the mountains without discovering anything to eat. Going four days with no food, he reached a sierra gap on the fifteenth. Being hungry was no new experience for him. Once on the Gila Desert he and his trappers had gone so long without water that they had lost a great amount of weight from dehydration, and at other times Kirker had turned Apache when he could get food no other way. This meant shooting and eating a mule. He and his companions now selected a burro from their train to kill, but just in time to save the animal he perceived a dozen horsemen approaching.

Captain Kirker recognized Lt. G. Pope Gordon, James L. "Squire" Collins, and A. Henderson in a scouting party, which had food to share with his starving band. When Doniphan's train arrived about sunset, the Scalp Captain and his companions joined it.

Jim Kirker learned that Doniphan had organized the traders and teamsters into an infantry battalion. They had selected a friend of the scalpers and the chief merchant of Independence, Samuel C. Owens, their major. The relations between Kirker's Old Apache Company of scalp hunters and the traders went beyond mere acquaintances. The impulse for contraband profits threatened to cancel the benefits that Doniphan derived from intelligence which don Santiago and his "barbers" had brought to him. When explaining Chihuahua's ability to arm, the Scalp Chief had based his calculations upon a knowledge of Mexican resources before contrabanders reached the enemy. Already Albert Speyer, James J. Webb, and other traders had dashed off from Missouri ahead of the Army of the West. They had reached Chihuahua City and sold American war material to the very man who wanted to buy Mister Jim's head.<sup>13</sup> Three hundred and fifteen other wagons

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12. Julius Fröbel zu der *New York Tribune*, Dezember 22, 1852, in *Aus der amerikanischen Presse*, 50.

13. For the significance of contraband to the Doniphan Expedition see: the writer's article, "Contrabando en la guerra con Estado Unidos," *Historia Mexicana*, XI, num. 3 (enero-marzo, 1962), 361-381; Boletín núm. 18 del *Registro Oficial*, diciembre 21 de 1846.

loaded with war material and consumer goods had followed Kirker out of El Paso with the Missouri regiment. One trader after another slipped from Doniphan's tow until more than fifty wagons reached Chihuahua City before the Battle of Sacramento. Much of their cargo also entered the hands of the hard-pressed Governor whose troops don Santiago had told Doniphan would be poorly armed. The Kirker and Collins parties had twenty-three men after they combined at the sierra gap on February 15.

Doniphan sent them forward to reconnoiter Carrizal, the only remaining fortress short of Chihuahua City. Don Santiago knew the place well, for it had been one of the main strongholds against the terrible Apaches. He arrived at Carrizal, where the Mexicans intended to reform de León's troops, about eight o'clock on the morning of February 16. Kirker and his party met the Alcalde, who came out to receive the unwelcome visitors. De León's soldiers had spread the news of Brazito, the "roarers," and of Kirker, "the TERROR of the Chihuahuans,"<sup>14</sup> and continued their flight. The scouts found only a small observation party and 400 civilians remaining at Carrizal.

The Scalp Captain and Collins interpreted for Forsythe and Gordon. Kirker and party received a written submission of the fort and town from the Alcalde. A Mexican report spread that the Scalp Chief had dropped word that the regiment would waste no time in Carrizal, but would continue on to the *hacienda* of El Carmen on the Rio Grande and provision themselves from plunder. According to interpretations of what Mexicans had heard that Doniphan's "notorious" guide had said, Kirker would lead the "perfidious Texas jackasses" into Chihuahua City within fifteen days without fail. (This term was a popular opprobrious Mexican reference to all blond interlopers from the northeast after Sam Houston had introduced the American and Mexican nations at San Jacinto). The alleged boast of the "King of New Mexico" had it that he intended to achieve this rapid advance in spite of a

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14. Connelley (ed.), *op. cit.*, 388.

Mexican army at Laguna de Encinillas. To whom don Santiago had told this matters little, for it worked out as accurately as his other forecasts. But for the Chihuahuans, however, it mattered much. They remembered other triumphal entries that Kirker had made into their capital, when his burros had struggled under loads of green human "pelts," and moccasin-shod, pajama-clad scalp hunters with long knives had borne still other crowns strung along poles. Even more sobering to the citizens than this picture was their recollections of Kirker's disputes with the government over mixing the crowns of peons with Indian hair. These memories bred nightmarish dreams of a shaggy demon descending upon the land with an army of "hairy" minions, whom the priests described as iconoclasts, rapists, plunderers, infidels, and cannibals. They said that the horde following the Scalp Chief would "fleece" the men and brand their women like cattle. That the faces of the "roarers" with Kirker were unshaved and their hair was long and unkept, that they wore tattered uniforms, and had been bred on Protestant horror stories of Catholicism as old as the Inquisition and as recent as the Alamo and Perote castle come from almost every eye-witness account in either English or Spanish.

Don Santiago rejoined Doniphan's train at the irrigation canals of Carrizal Creek on February 18. Through Mexico his Volunteer companions witnessed nothing to admire more than the antics of "old man Kirker." Riding *a la Comanche* he was a one man circus. They marvelled when he leaned from his steed racing at full speed and let his long hair sweep over the ground rapidly, or performed some other skill of horsemanship. In another pastime he and "Squire" Collins demonstrated how quickly birds of a feather could flock together, and how quickly brothers of the bottle could locate spirits of Bacchus. When the army met a trader, this pair came by his whiskey. Both touched the brew deeply. Collins was a gray-haired, red-faced little jug with a vigor and recklessness that made him an accomplished hunter, trader, and fighter. Quick in movements he was as daresome as the New Mexican

master scalp hunter. Like other Plainsmen both proved quarrelsome when in the rye. A difficulty arose between them over some trifling matter, and in the bandy of words Collins called Kirker a coward. This could have been an allusion to don Santiago's stock trade trick of striking Indian villages at dawn. At least the degree of the great scalper's bravery seems to have been a topic of general speculation. Some said that it was only lukewarm; others held that he was absolutely fearless. In any case Collin's accusation could mean only a fight to the death, but Doniphan heard of their fuss and prevented a duel. The Commander got them to agree to postpone their meeting until after the approaching battle.

Don Santiago guided the army along the El Paso del Norte-Chihuahua City road which ran generally as it does today. If he was not with Colonel Mitchell's van, he could be found in the scouting company of Captain John W. Reid, M. M. Parsons, or George Skillman. Kirker reached the princely estate of don Estanislao Porras, an old friend, at Agua Nueva, where this rancher allegedly ran over 36,000 head of cattle and sheep. Porras was one of the wealthiest cattle kings and merchants in the State of Chihuahua and had been a patron of the Old Apache Company also. More than once don Estanislao had hired Kirker's scalpers to chastise Apache raiders. When an Apache band had killed his muleteers and robbed his pack train of merchandise early in 1845, he had paid don Santiago to track them to their lair deep in the Sierra Madre Occidental. Kirker and his "barbers" had killed over 200 Apaches, then set out for the capital with nineteen live Indians, a number of rescued Mexicans, and 182 scalps, including one from the head of his Mexican guide killed in a fight. Trias still owed the Scalp Chief for these "pelts" and the captured Indians at the rate of fifty dollars each.

Doniphan sent don Santiago from Agua Nueva with sixteen patrolmen to reconnoiter the fine lakeside country seat of the Governor at Encinillas, twenty leagues above Chihuahua City. For anybody except the Scalp Captain this would have seemed like the Colonel was conspiring with Trias to

get Kirker to stick his head into the lion's mouth. The Governor's villa set on the southwest margin of a north-south lagoon twenty miles long. Doniphan's guide led the patrol close enough to learn that General Pedro García Conde had quartered 700 cavalymen and some artillery pieces within the villa of the biggest estate in Chihuahua. Enshrined in history, Encinillas was also famous for great horse and mule droves and herds of black cattle until Indians no longer threatened by Kirker's hunting had made away with most of them.

Don Santiago and his partners re-entered Doniphan's camp at Gallegos Spring late on February 24. The American and Mexican armies began maneuvering for battle the next day. Conde's scouts had learned the American position and had communicated their information to Generals Heredia and Trías at El Sauz south of Encinillas. Kirker rode down the valley formed by two sierras ahead of Doniphan's column in battle order with Captain Reid and his Horse Guards early on the twenty-fifth. A grass fire had spread from a blaze at a tent the night before and was to detain him and Doniphan's entire force in a day-long fight to suppress it. But when night came Kirker and twenty-five Horse Guardsmen set out to spy around the Governor's villa again as the regimentals staked their animals and bedded down upon the black earth.

Pondering the eventuality of encountering sentinels posted on the two roads leading to Encinillas, the Scalp Captain cut directly across the lagoon which was previously considered impassable. After the horses bogged through three miles of deep mud, don Santiago brought them out on the opposite side of the lagoon. Seeing no sentry, the scouts dismounted and advanced quietly. At intervals they heard the receding sound of horses' hoofs pounding the earth. Then their ears picked up waves of music flowing over the walls of Trías' villa. Mounting again, they rode around the walls, but could not see over them. Unable to get the information that Doniphan wanted, or to find a Mexican outside to grab, they decided on a typical "kirkeresque" caper.

Without recorded confirmation, however, one can imagine don Santiago outlining a piece of scalp hunting strategy for a charge, tightening his hat, spurring his horse, and then flying through the gate into the center of the court yard with a rousing yell. The old prankster had not stopped to ask if the Governor was at home with his palace guard and an army of dragoons. But if Kirker had broken in with his fire breathing warriors when he had been "chief of the Apache nation," he could not have thrown the revellers into more panic than he did with his Missourians almost deigning to eat Mexicans. He and A. Henderson handled the Spanish inquiries for their party. They learned that Conde and 700 horsemen had withdrawn toward Sacramento less than a hour before. Seeing that the Mexican soldiers had departed, they did not prolong the dismay of several hundred people, for the Scalp Lord and his partners relished liquor, music, dancing, and well peppered food too. The ranch administrator proved to be a sumptuous entertainer and was probably an old acquaintance of the Lord of the Scalp Hunters. Kirker and the scouts lingered as the night wore on. Finally taking quarters in the Governor's villa they stayed until day. Before leaving they cleaned out Trías' cribs and larder of everything of food value, ran down his poultry, and rounded up the few cattle which the Apaches and Mexican soldiers had left. Returning to Doniphan's regiment, the Scalp Captain and the patrolmen found it already on the march when they rejoined it.

How much firsthand information Kirker and his hunters brought into the Missourian's camp about the defenses that the Mexicans had improvised at Sacramento is open to conjecture. However, one of his Delawares was familiar with the fortifications, and possibly some of his Shawnees had seen the outlays also. This Delaware sketched a sand picture of the enemy position with a stick for Doniphan. On the assumption that the Americans would follow the road right into their trap, the Mexicans had placed their redoubts and artillery on the eastern slope of a bowl-like valley in open view of the road that ran along the western edge, according to the Indian. In

the Delaware's opinion, the Americans might avoid the artillery fire by developing to their right, which was what Doniphan would have his men do.

As other scalp hunters, who followed Kirker in New Mexico and Chihuahua, drifted into Doniphan's camp, it portended more evil for the enemy, although not one of them received pay for his services to the Sacramento Campaign. These fellows performed one service after another for Doniphan, and showed up as the real ears and eyes of the Expedition. It cannot be said when Gabe Allen, John S. Spencer, Enoch Barnes, Shawnee Jake and his Shawnees, and other members of the Old Apache Company arrived. Barnes had almost lost his life as an outgrowth of James Johnson's treacherous murder of Chief Juan José Compa and many of his Mimbres tribe for their scalps on April 22, 1837, in the Sierra de las Ánimas in present Hidalgo County, New Mexico. At intervals since he had served in Kirker's Old Apache Company, Allen was jester of Kirker's scalp hunting band and also became a well-known westerner. After the army had made night camp at El Sauz on the day before the Battle of Sacramento, another prominent hair hunter also by the way of New Mexico suddenly appeared within sight of the vanguard as his horse slid down a mountain side. He was as dark as a peon, donned a complete Mexican outfit for disguise, and answered to the name of James Hobbs.<sup>15</sup> Ending a fast ride northward from San Luis Potosi, where General Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna had confiscated his ten merchant wagons, their goods, and eighty mules, he brought a letter from Magoffin now in jail in Durango. He drew it from one muzzle of his double barrel gun for Doniphan and also handed him a paper sketch of the enemy position at Sacramento that he had made when he passed by.

On a bright Sunday, the last day of February, 1847, the scalp hunters moved up with the troops to engage the enemy. Kirker rode in the van. His companions of the Missouri regiment still had orders to shoot him if he made a deceptive move.

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15. Hobbs, *op. cit.*, 113-130.



Don Santiago's newly-arrived former hunter, Hobbs, hovered close to Doniphan. To authenticate his story, Hobbs showed the Colonel a twenty-four pound gun and a dozen cannoneers on a certain hillside. Doniphan told him to pick twenty-five of his old colleagues of the scalp camp out of the regiment, come down behind the gun from the rear of the peak, and capture it. All of this Hobbs would do.

Don Santiago felt as wary as a drunk Apache when he rode into Sacramento Valley with Collin's insult still stinging him. As he bade his chance to challenge the "squire," he turned with the line which deflected to the right beyond the range of the Mexican batteries, then cut sharply left or east with the column. He and his companions crossed a creek and gained the lower level of a rocky plateau, while the regimentals deployed behind him and their officers as Mexican cannon balls whizzed overhead. If the Lord of the Scalp Hunters had a ruse or a signal to help the enemy, time was running out for playing it. Although well-known on both sides of the Rio Grande at this time, don Santiago had few true friends in either the American or the Mexican camp. Now facing 4,224<sup>16</sup> Mexicans entrenched on the brow of the hill, he gave men on both sides a good view of his silver strands, worth a dollar or more each, as well as a virtual dare to raise a blade for them. In the Mexican rank and file the Scalp Captain could envision a replay of his life in the Mexican country. He knew that the enemy officers had reasons to loathe him with a single oath. Time and again he and his "little army" had roamed the lands on both sides of the Rio Grande and had brought in scores of ears and green "pelts" where barrack lords and regular Mexican soldiers had shown their heels or lost their own hair. When street mobs had gone wild over don Santiago, the military clique had railed against him with jealousy and abhorred the dependence of civilian governors upon him to rid the land of its Indians. Those in the Mexican redoubts belonging to this envy-filled circle included Generals Heredia commanding the

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16. This is according to American sources. Mexican historians place the figure at 1,500 to 2,000.

entire force, Pedro García Conde leading the cavalry, and Matias Conde commanding the artillery, plus Commandante Vincente Sanchez, Colonels Cayetano Justiniani and Francisco Padilla leading the infantry, and General Trías and Colonel Mauricio Ugarte with the Chihuahua Volunteers. Justiniana had challenged a civilian Governor to a duel in opposing Kirker's \$100,000 contract in 1839 to scalp Apaches and Comanches. As Commandant General of Chihuahua, Ugarte had reluctantly authorized Kirker's Galeana raid of July 6, 1846, which produced 148 scalps. But none hated don Santiago more than Trías. If anyone could have collected all of the bounties that this Governor had placed on the head of the alleged "King of New Mexico" it would have totalled \$19,000.

Doniphan kept Kirker near to himself as the Americans moved up in two ranks and halted 400 yards from the enemy. When several hundred Mexican cavalymen came out and demanded that Doniphan surrender, don Santiago rode partly around the American infantry column. Just as Doniphan told his bugler to sound an attack, Mister Jim shouted to Collins: "Let you and I see who can get into that Mexican battery first!"<sup>17</sup> Indicating cannons in the second redoubt firing upon the Americans, Kirker shot spurs to his "scalp horse."

Saying nothing, the "Squire" jerked his cap down, waved his sword, and buried his heels in the flanks of his horse. The pair sped across no-man's land. Captain Reid, Joseph Marshall, Major Samuel Owens, and a fourth man saw them and lunged forward too. "Old Jim" Kirker led the four right up to the enemy line for a baptism of fire. Turning to the left, he brought them past several more redoubts, drawing fire from the entire enemy rifle corps. Boozed and extra daresome, Owens fell from enemy fire dying within a rod of the Mexican line. The rattle of enemy guns firing at the Scalp Captain prevented many Missourians from hearing Doniphan's command. Seeing that Doniphan's line had not engaged the enemy with him, don Santiago turned left again to rejoin the Volunteers.

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17. Connelley (ed.), *op. cit.*, 418n.

Adjutant James A. de Croucy had ridden down the line drunk and shouting: "Halt!" This produced confusion in the American ranks. Kirker and his three surviving partners rejoined the Volunteers as the advance finally started. He and they came to the Mexican works again. Yelling like Indians, the Missourians startled the enemy. After firing at don Santiago on his first ride, the Mexicans did not have time to reload their flintlocks before the attackers got among them. Kirker's initial dash "saved the lives of the Americans,"<sup>18</sup> according to Meredith T. Moore writing in 1906. Having completed his assignment, Hobbs got into the second charge. A Mexican flight became a stampede. Volunteers and scalp hunters killed 300 to 400 of the enemy. They sent soldiers and hundreds of men, women, and children spectators perched on surrounding peaks tumbling over one another along the road into Chihuahua City.

A courier rode into town shouting: "We are lost, defeated, ruined!"<sup>19</sup> Pandemonium and a flight of townsmen followed. Mexican officials sailed through from Sacramento headed for Hidalgo del Parral. Soon "the **TERROR** of the Chihuahuans" would be upon the people with his hair dressers and the "*Texans, yankees, heretics, and pirates*"<sup>20</sup> following him. To the people, this was the terrible moment; nothing remained to hold back the old Celt and his mob of scalpers and Missourians. Some Chihuahuans still aver in our own time that the "treason" of Kirker caused their disaster.

On the day after Sacramento don Santiago made his triumphant entry when 150 horsemen rode into town. The merchant adventurers, brave fellows too, drove in on March 2, found space, and opened shops on the busiest streets. When the refugee citizens failed to buy them out, the future of the scalp hunters became even more entangled with the fortunes of the merchants. Following *E Pluribus Unum* Old Glory appeared. Kirker's companions, resident Americans coming out of hiding, and Yankee merchants at their doors welcomed

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18. *Ibid.*

19. *Ibid.*, 445.

20. *Ibid.*

Doniphan's "buckskin regiment." With whiskers and hair sweeping their shoulders, don Santiago and his companions looked half savage to the few slick-faced Mexicans on hand to behold them. Dingy and "uproarious," many were loaded with battle booty and flashed expressions in their eyes like wild mustangs. They got along "literally without horses, clothes, or money, having nothing but arms and a disposition to use them,"<sup>21</sup> wrote Doniphan. Kirker's hair dressers had made Chihuahua City the scalp capital of America, but they dissipated all of the goodwill that they ever enjoyed in this one triumphal return.

They camped with the Missourians either in the Bull Ring, or in the square before the great cathedral.<sup>22</sup> In the past, don Santiago had organized his retainers in the Ring for some of their most productive scalp hunts. Nothing in town drew comment from the "roarers" like the remains of nearly 150 scalps which he had taken from the heads of Chief Reyes and his people on July 6, 1846. They swung on the cathedral gate and fence and on water fountains in the square only a few feet from the tents of some of the Missouri boys.

Kirker and his scalp hunters rendered endless important services to Doniphan during the occupation of the capital city. They became increasingly indispensable as interpreters, messengers, and foragers, and above all to run down thieves, guerrillas, and troublesome Indians. Hobbs and the Shawnees delivered dispatches to Santa Fe, and Hobbs even claimed to have made a trip to California and back for Doniphan. The Colonel's guerrilla worries were just beginning. As Generals

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21. *Ibid.*

22. Helpful sources on the scalpers during the American occupation of Chihuahua City are: *El Registro Oficial*, abril 15 de 1847; Gonzalez Flores, *Chihuahua de la independencia*, 78f, y "Invasion norte-americana," *Boletin de la sociedad chihuahuense de estudios historicos*, IV, núm. 8 (enero de 1943), 306; Connelley (ed.), *oc. cit.*, 106, 444-465; Pinart, *Documents for the History of Chihuahua*, II, 39ff; Almada, "La comandancia general de provincias internas," I, núm. 2 (junio 3 de 1938), 41, y "Gobernadores. . . : XXII.—Gral. D. Angel Trias, Sr.," III, núms. 10 y 11 (julio y agosto de 1941), 176f, en *Boletin de la sociedad chihuahuense de estudios historicos*; Hobbs, *op. cit.*, 131-141; *Arkansas State Gazette*, May 22, 1847; *El Faro*, septiembre 18 de 1849; Wislizenus, *op. cit.*, 48-62; Robinson, *op. cit.*, 77ff; Edwards, *op. cit.*, 122f; Bieber (ed.), *Journal of a Soldier under Kearny and Doniphan*, 353-362, *Marching with the Army of the West*, 271-278, and *Adventures in the Santa Fe Trade*, 197f; Fulton (ed.), *op. cit.*, 79, 100f, 103ff.

Taylor and Scott employed Texan Rangers to beat the chaparral for irregulars, Doniphan kept Kirker's hair hunters flying through thorny brush on the heels of molesters. Nothing that moved could deal with this problem better than don Santiago's Delawares and Shawnees.

The Scalp Captain soon went on the prowl for the Governor who had advertised for his hair. He rode out of the city with Captain Richard H. Weightman and seventy others on the night of March 3 to check a report that Trías had set up a government down at Parral. Kirker led them up the Conchos Valley through some of his best scalp hunting country, where Apaches raiding from the west and Comanches raiding to the east overlapped. He brought them back two days later. They had Heredia's "Rigging," but nothing indicates where nor how his party had gotten it. On the same day and thereafter his retainers produced painful evidence of the new order injected into the local picture.

Allen and Hobbs had translated Doniphan's draconic legal code to a large number of convicts released from the city jail. Soon one of the culprits after another received stringent doses of strap oil for theft. One expired at the foot of a tree during his 400 lashes, and a second died two days later. In one way or another Kirker's scalpers had a hand in these affairs.

When nine thieves stole horses from the artillery drove, Doniphan put Hobbs with Kirker's Shawnee "blood hounds" on their trail. They overtook them in a mountain valley, shot one dead, recovered the horses, and brought the other eight into town with their feet tied under the horses' stomachs. Within an hour Shawnee Jake and his warriors had them mounting a wagon at Doniphan's command. A driver cracked his whip, his team lurched, and the wretches bumped about in mid air. Chihuahuans saw dramatized one of their worst fears of the New Mexican scalp hunters turned loose upon them.

A possibility came again for Kirker to help Doniphan when don José Felix Maceyra emerged as chief commissioner in Chihuahua City during the absence of Trías. Maceyra had

been one of the strongest members of the "pro-Kirker" faction in Chihuahuan politics and supporter of the scalp buying policies of the government. In May 1846, don José had secured the adoption of a plan that made surprising an Indian village at day break as rewarding for scalp hunters as striking a gold mine, or more literally a silver mine for don Santiago had received silver pesos for Indian and peon hair. However, negotiations between the scalp hunters' two friends, Doniphan and Maceyra, broke down on March 20, because the Missouri merchants stood immovable against the refusal of Trias to legalize the sale of American goods duty free throughout the State. Caught in this impasse between the traders and the Mexican authorities, Doniphan tried to extricate himself by a process which determined the scalpers' future when he succumbed to the merchants' pressure. This came from the fact that although Volunteers wanted to retrace their steps to Missouri the traders still had \$200,000 worth of unsold goods and admitted that they could not sell them within five years in Chihuahua City. The merchants put so much heat on Doniphan and his scouts for them to escort their caravans to Durango and Zacatecas that the Colonel sent Collins with a dozen or more men to bear an appeal to Wool for marching orders either homeward or to fresh markets. While awaiting an answer Doniphan's staff sent him with 600 men southward against the exile government of Chihuahua on April 5.

Again the Commander enjoyed the sharp ears and eyes of don Santiago and his hunters to pick up every piece of useful intelligence afloat. At San Pablo they heard that the government had fled to Guadalupe y Calvo in southwestern Chihuahua and that 5,000 Mexican dragoons were coming to throw the Americans out of Mexico. Doniphan retreated, prepared the capital for defense, and waited for the big push. Hobbs and Allen "went Mexican," spied on the phantom enemy army, and learned that the rumor had no basis. They returned to the capital convinced that the merchants had originated the alarm to prevent the Volunteers and scalp hunters from leaving for the United States.

On April 23, Collins came in with a message from Taylor and Wool that settled the future of scalpers, homesick Volunteers, and peso-sick merchants. Doniphan read the significant part to them gathered in a street: "MARCH FORTHWITH TO SALTILLO."<sup>23</sup> The Lord of the Scalp Hunters kept his post as guide when the invaders departed on the twenty-fifth.<sup>24</sup> Kirker led the train up the Conchos Valley, across Durango, and through Saltillo, Monterrey, and Matamoras to Brazos de Santiago on the Texas coast. Allen and Hobbs took jobs as scouts, interpreters, and foragers for the quartermaster. Kirker and his scalpers turned piloting the Missourians and the calico caravan to the sea into one of the most spectacular parts of their history. Mexican resistance had degenerated into guerrilla attacks upon wagon trains and small troop movements. Since Doniphan's soldiers and the trader caravan scattered out more than when coming down to Sacramento, Kirker's scalpers had to range widely. Running down Mexican thieves and swinging them to tree limbs, rescuing Mexican captives from Indian raiders, and nabbing or shooting guerrillas skulking in chaparrals constituted their routine work. On June 4, eight of the Shawnees separated from the train at Reynosa, and set out across Texas with Sgt. Ewing van Bibber and thirty-five Volunteers, driving 700 head of regimental horsestock. They delivered the animals to the Missouri counties of their owners for ten dollars each. Kirker and other scalp hunters boarded ships at Brazos de Santiago and reached New Orleans in mid June.

Word got around that real scalp hunters had arrived in the Queen City with the Missourians. George Wilkins Kendall, an editor of the New Orleans *Picayune*, had revealed the almost legendary New Mexican mountainman to the world in the early 'forties. The *Picayune* felt "happy to announce to the citizens of New Orleans that Don Santiago Kirker, late a colonel in the Mexican service and celebrated for his feats of

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23. Connelley (ed.), *op. cit.*, 463.

24. Sources used for the march of the scalp hunters to the Gulf are: Connelley (ed.), *op. cit.*, 467-492; Hobbs, *op. cit.*, 143-166; Wislizenus, *op. cit.*, 61-82; Fulton (ed.), *op. cit.*, 107-155; Robinson, *op. cit.*, 81-91.

daring against the Indians, but during the present war better known as a spy, interpreter, etc., of Colonel Doniphan's command of Missouri Volunteers, is now in this city. . . ." The editors "had heard much of his exploits against the Indians of Mexico, with whom his name is a terror." Many citizens "had a strong curiosity to meet him." Though an Irishman with "over twenty years among the woods, mountains and prairies of this continent, he retains the characteristic features and traits of his countrymen. The last years of his life have been full of adventures."<sup>25</sup> Everywhere Kirker created a stir, for he was the most colorful hero to return from the Mexican War.

On June 26, don Santiago boarded the *Clarksville* for St. Louis, intending to continue on to Santa Fe and to rejoin his family in Chihuahua eventually, according to the *Picayune*.<sup>26</sup> He reached St. Louis on July 1, where both the *Post* and the *Weekly Reveille* featured stories on him. The "unrivalled" daguerreotypist, Thomas M. Easterly, and the "excellent" engraver and engineer, Josiah E. Ware, produced his portrait for the *Post*. This newspaper called attention to his early days in St. Louis. The older citizens remembered when Kirker was a "grocer," in 1821, at "north water, above Team Boat Ferry." Some recalled that he had been one of Ashley's and Henry's "enterprising young men," and that he had quit them after the Arikaree fight, returned to St. Louis, and set out for Santa Fe. The *Post* observed that his homecoming seemed like a dream to those who had known him a quarter century earlier. His Spanish accent, his service to the Mexican states and to the United States, and marks upon his features and personality left by years of experiences all drew comment. The *Post* described him as "free," "kind hearted," and "highly intelligent."<sup>27</sup>

The *Weekly Reveille* noted his "well-known" exploits while in the pay of Chihuahua and New Mexico. "We regard

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25. June 26, 1847.

26. June 26, 1847; *Weekly Reveille* (St. Louis, Mo.), July 5, 1847.

27. *Republican* (Santa Fe, N.M.), October 24 and November 20, 1847; *Reveille* (St. Louis, Mo.), July 3, 1847; information in the St. Louis Mercantile Library.



him as one of the most interesting among the mountain men," it said. In its opinion, "If ever a man has *un-Irished* himself, as far as appearance goes, it is *Don Santiago*—otherwise Mister Jim!" The earlier picture of him, made "when King of New Mexico," helps one to understand what the paper meant by its remark: "He is as dark as night, and upon occasion can look quite as threatening."<sup>28</sup> Both the *Post* and the *Reveille* reported that Kirker would leave for the mountains almost immediately, but neither knew whether he would go in a private or public capacity.

Accompanying troops of the Third Regiment of Missouri Mounted Volunteers, he had reached New Mexico by the fall of 1847. When the great Apache and Comanche scalp hunt resumed in 1849, the master scalper re-appeared as one of the captains of the scalp "industry," as Mexican writers called his profession. For whom did he "harvest pelts"? For Governor don Angel Trías, of course! That is until he left for California the next year leading a wagon train, where he died in 1853.

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28. July 5, 1847.

# SHEEP HUSBANDRY IN NEW MEXICO, 1902-1903

*Edited by William J. Parish*

(Concluded)

## *The "Young Observer" In New Mexico \**

### His Visit to Roswell and Surrounding Ranches.

TRINIDAD, COLO., Oct. 1, 1902. Coming into Roswell from the north the first sight which greets the eye and breaks the level monotony of the plains of the upper Pecos is the North Spring river.

At this time of year it is banked on either side by fruit orchards, now stripped of their wealth of fruit, but still giving tokens of the harvest which is passed in the few remaining apples which the pickers missed.

In the broad irrigated fields one sees long stacks of alfalfa and shocks of corn, sorghum and kaffir (sic) corn. The first impression one has on coming in from the plains of the north Pecos is, that he is entering into some populous orchard and farming district.

On every side are the

EVIDENCES OF PROSPERITY AND THRIFT. From the well painted houses to the finely cultivated fields one sees on every hand the evidences of an educated and prosperous people.

Here are gathered the cream of the East who have come west either for health or wealth, some for both.

As you get nearer to the town fine residences are seen on every side, surrounded by magnificent shade trees, which in the heat of summer afford fine shade from the hot rays of a tropical sun. Yet it is not so hot here in summer as one would think and sunstroke is unknown. Where many towns are bothered about their water supply

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\* (From Our Traveling Staff Correspondent) *The American Shepherd's Bulletin*, vol. 7, no. 12, December, 1902.

ROSWELL HAS NOTHING TO FEAR. The streams of this vicinity are known as the North Berrendo and the South Berrendo. These streams run from three to five miles north of Roswell. The North Spring river runs through the town and the South Spring river runs four miles southeast. There is also another river which runs through the town, called the Rio Hondo (deep river). In addition to this abundant supply there are a large number of artesian wells which greatly add to the irrigated lands of the valley. More are being dug right along, and it is fair to predict that irrigation is as yet only in its infancy in the Pecos valley. The water from these artesian wells is very healthful as some of the wells contain sulphur and other minerals which are very beneficial to those affected with stomach, liver or kidney troubles.

WEST OF ROSWELL lie the La Sierra Capitana [El Capitán] and the La Sierra Blanca [white] mountains which afford some of the finest sheep ranges in southern New Mexico. They make an especially fine winter range on account of the snows which furnish abundant water for the sheep that graze there during the winter.

One of the largest outfits which range between Roswell and the Capitana mountains is the A. D. Garrett Co.<sup>1</sup> They do not keep any stock sheep, but run wethers entirely for mutton and wool. Wool is their main object and their sheep shear on an average eight pounds to the head.

Contrary to this idea are the herds of A. J. Knollin,<sup>2</sup> which are run by Fitz Brink [Brinck].<sup>3</sup> This outfit is made up of Shropshire grades. Their ewes average a little over four pounds of wool to the head.

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1. President of the Roswell Wool and Hide Company. See R. E. Twitchell, *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, Vol. 3, The Torch Press, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1917, p. 152, for biographical sketch.

2. A. J. Knollin's principal residence was in Kansas City. He was rather influential in the National Woolgrowers' Association. He purchased the Bonney ranch on the Rio Hondo in Chaves County (*Monthly Bulletin of the National Wool Growers' Association of the United States*, vol. 3, no. 4, Apr. 1898, p. 248; *The American Shepherd's Bulletin*, vol. 8, no. 2, Feb. 1903, p. 251, microfilm, U. N. M. Library). See note 3 below.

3. Fritz Brinck rose from foreman to partner in Knollin and Swift who were large sheep raisers in Texas before expanding to New Mexico. See biographical sketch in Charles F. Coan, *A History of New Mexico*, Vol. III, New York, 1925, p. 477.

THE REDEEMING FEATURE of these bands of sheep run by Mr. Brink [sic] is the fine lot of feeding lambs which they annually produced. Mr. Brink (sic) informed the writer that next year he intended to cross back to Merinos again, as the ewes were getting to be too light shearers, and a quarter of a dollar difference in the price. Fritz Brink (sic) runs his sheep on the Pecos, north of Roswell, at this time of the year. On account of the low price of lambs in New Mexico, they will ship their lambs to Nickerson, Kan., where their feeding lots are located and feed them out there. They will have something over 10,000 to feed there, which were taken from Roswell.

In the small space allotted me it would be impossible to mention all of the

BREEDERS who make Roswell their headquarters, but I will give the names of a few whom I met there during my stay in the city: J. M. and H. M. Miller,<sup>4</sup> Jaffa & Prager,<sup>5</sup> A. T. Gunter, D. Keyes, C. C. Martin,<sup>6</sup> Mason & Smith, Turk & Co., M. F. Lovelace, Fritz Brink (sic), Rep. A. J. Knollin, W. H. Long, A. D. Garret Co., I. Gronsky, A. Ingham,<sup>7</sup> Chas. Kling, W. H. Hittson, R. Michaelles, J. O. Cameron & Davis, Jas. Devine, J. Garrod, Williamson & Turner, Roswell Wool, Hide & Pelt Co., etc.

WILLIAMSON & TURNER or the Roswell Livestock Com. Co., are among the foremost and most progressive firms handling sheep ranches, sheep, and forest reserve and other kind of land script [scrip]. They handle this script, which is fully guaranteed, in lots of 40 to 40,000 acres, to suit the needs of the purchaser. They also have the New Mexico and Arizona script which can be used only in these two territories. The value of this script is this: if a ranchman has a water hole

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4. James M. and Huron M. For biographical sketch see *ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

5. Nathan Jaffa and Wm. S. Prager. For biographical material see Twitchell, *op cit*, Vol. 5, pp. 123-124 and 238-239.

6. For biographical material see E. A. Davis, Editor, *Historical Encyclopedia of New Mexico*, Vol. 2, New Mexico Historical Association, p. 1118.

7. Arthur E. Ingham had ranch 60 miles north of Roswell. For biographical material see Coan, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 186-187.

or creek bed or piece of land which is necessary to his ranch and range he can just buy what script he needs at from \$3.50 to \$6 an acre, and place it upon this land which he needs. Thus a man who has used his homestead right and desert claim right can still obtain land at a reasonable cost. This method has become quite popular in the West in the last five years.

In this connection it might be well to mention a recent deal in range bred stuff carried on by Williamson & Turner, ably assisted by

MR. W. T. WHITE, also of the firm of Williamson & Turner.

For 18 years Mr. White has been identified with the sheep interests of Texas and New Mexico. He is the man of the firm who handles the sheep part, locating and furnishing feeding stock to feeders. His long experience on the range and ranches of New Mexico makes him thoroughly capable of handling this side of the business with great success.

While we are mentioning the business firms connected with the sheep industry, it is well worth our while to say something of the extensive operations of the

ROSWELL WOOL, HIDE & PELT CO. conducted by Hill & Hurd. For over a quarter of a century, in fact almost half a century, Mr. Hill, of this firm, has been intimately associated with the sheep and wool industry of Texas and New Mexico. This year they were known as the firm who were handling the bulk of the wool from southwestern New Mexico, and also as the firm who paid the highest price for wool and dealt in a very liberal manner with one and all of their customers. Their motto is, "Live and let live."

They have always been identified with the best sheep interests of this part of the territory. They, as a firm, and as individuals, have always advocated the best and most improved methods of running sheep and producing wool. Just this last year they went to great expense and trouble to ship from Ohio two very fine Delaine bucks which are now on two of the representative ranches of the territory.

When it comes to the

DIPPING OF SHEEP, they are in the forefront of advancement and carry a large number of brands of sheep dip so that the ranch owners can have their choice of dips and experiment till they find a suitable one.

Their latest move is the advocating of

FLEECE TYING OF WOOL. They will be heard from later in our columns on this subject, telling why the western ranch owners should tie their fleeces.

Mr. Hurd, formerly of Boston, has been a member of the firm for about a year. Before that time he was having some practical experience on a ranch of his own a short distance from town. Mr. Hurd, like Mr. Hill, is a very kind and obliging man, and is always ready to give one a good time while in their city.

Besides their downtown wool office, they have

A LARGE WAREHOUSE down by the railroad track, through which passes the bulk of all of the wool, mohair, hides and pelts which come into Roswell. In addition to their large wool trade this year they will handle something over 20,000 pounds of mohair grown in the Capitana [Capitán] mountains, west of the city.

Although the sheep and wool interest is a large one, there are other interests which demand our attention in speaking of this part of the Pecos valley.

During the last year there have been many large cow outfits turned in on the salt grass and gramma grass ranges around Roswell, but thus far, all is peace between the cattle and sheep men of this vicinity.

ANOTHER PROMINENT INTEREST is the production of fruit, slightly mentioned in the early part of this article. Last year Roswell apples took the gold medal over all other apples of the United States for size, beauty and flavor at the Pan-American at Buffalo. This year a special car was fitted up, showing the products of the valley, and especially the fruit. While this car was in Chicago it required at times the assistance of three policemen to keep the street clear in front of this exhibit car.

This year the largest grower was offered \$65,000 for his apples on the trees, but refused and shipped them himself.

Returning to the sheep interests and industry it might be well to speak of the wonderful facilities for the raising of early lambs which this valley with its broad fields of alfalfa and mild climate affords. Here the natural salt grass pastures are nearly always green in March, and the climate is mild and sunshiny. This branch of the industry has been tried with good success already, and

ALL THAT IS NEEDED is men with means and knowledge of the business to take hold of it. Taking the city of Roswell and the surrounding country it is safe to say that it is still in its infancy and not many years will pass over our heads till the industries which are now seemingly insignificant will have grown to gigantic proportions.

All that is needed is men with capital, who are not afraid to invest it, and another railroad to make competition and thus lessen the now high freight rates. This day is not far off, for even now there are two roads which have surveyed lines through the city, and another year may see the citizens of this southern metropolis realize the idol of their dreams. But good times all end and so did my visit to Roswell and the surrounding ranches. Bidding the jolly landlord of the Shelby hotel goodbye and wishing him success both in his hotel and in running his sheep, I left the ranchmen's headquarters at the Shelby, and was soon whirling across the stake[d] plains on my way home to Trinidad.

### *The "Young Observer" In the Pecos Valley\**

Existing Conditions and Future Possibilities for Stockmen  
in That Region.

CARLSBAD, N. M., March 12, 1903. In a former issue our readers were introduced to the upper Pecos valley and inci-

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\*(From Our Traveling Staff Correspondent) *The American Shepherd's Bulletin*, vol. 8, no. 3, March, 1903.

dentially to the city of Roswell. There is no doubt but that the Pecos valley has one of the largest and best irrigation systems in the United States. The Pecos river, from which most of the water for irrigation is obtained, rises near Las Vegas, N. M., and drains a scope of country 75 miles wide by 200 miles in length above the city of Carlsbad, N. M., and the Pecos Irrigation Company's dams. Before going more deeply into the subject of irrigation it might be well to take a glance at the

**EARLY HISTORY OF THE PECOS VALLEY.** The history of the valley begins with the Spanish occupation. The great Spaniard, Coronado, crossed the valley twice on his marches across the Southwest. This happened as far back as 1541, and 40 years later Espejo entered the valley, marching southeast through its entire length. Of course, at the time he found the valley and the surrounding plains covered with immense herds of buffalo fattening on the rich grasses, native to the valley. To-day the buffalo are replaced by herds of well-bred cattle and sheep, on the plains, and in the valley we find well watered, prosperous looking farms. From the time of Espejo down, the valley has been the path of many a conquering Spanish hero, or more gentle Jesuit missionary. At first the natural grasses were utilized only for grazing purposes. The valley was especially favored with peace during the Mexican war. The Confederate invasion to Santa Fe barely touched the northern part and even the bloody Indian wars did not very greatly disturb the peace and prosperity of the sixties and seventies.

Although we have passed over the early history at a hasty glance, we will not so treat the history of

**THE LAST FEW YEARS.** Fifteen years ago the valley was just considered a fine grazing place, and in the spring as a good lambing ground. Sheep were trailed from all parts of southern New Mexico and Texas to the Pecos valley to lamb, then driven back over the plains. But now everything is changed. Where the buffalo ranged undisturbed, there now range well-bred sheep, cattle and goats. Where the early



sheep man lambled his herd of unimproved Mexican ewes, to-day crops of kaffir corn, milo maize and alfalfa thrive. Where 20 years ago the beautiful Pecos river ran on undisturbed, to-day we see massive stone dams obstructing its heretofore conquering march. Now the mighty Pecos is harnessed and made to serve man's wishes. Six miles above the city of Carlsbad was placed what is known to the inhabitants of the valley as the six-mile-dam, thereby creating two large reservoirs with a capacity of 90,000 acre feet, or in other words, enough water to cover 90,000 acres to the depth of 12 inches. The reservoir located the farthest south was named Lake Avalon. From this beautiful expanse of water starts the large irrigation canal, 45 feet wide on the bottom and carrying five feet of water in depth. About two and a half miles above Carlsbad this canal is divided and one branch is carried to the west bank through a magnificent concrete flume.

**THE AQUEDUCT COMPLETE.** This aqueduct, to carry the water for irrigation across the Pecos, is now complete. It was built by the Pecos Irrigation [and Investment] Company<sup>1</sup> to replace the large wooden flume which had been used for the last 10 years. The new flume, which is made entirely of concrete and is the largest and only thing of its kind in the world, cost \$45,000, and has a capacity of 1,500 cubic feet of water per second, the capacity of the old structure being 350 cubic feet per second.

To fully appreciate this wonder of modern architecture and engineering skill one must see it; but a few figures and statements may give our readers an idea of its magnitude. The length of the flume is 432 feet, approaches at each end extending into the banks 30 feet, making the total length 492 feet. The height from the river bed to the arch is 25 feet, to the top of the side of the wall 47 feet. There are four arches, 100 by 25 feet in the clear, five-feet thick, three piers, 8 by 25 feet base and 29 feet high. There are four approach walls, 30

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1. Organized in 1889. See Frank D. Reeve, *History of New Mexico*, Vol. II, Lewis Historical Publishing Company, New York, pp. 246-247.

by 5 feet, 29 feet high, two at each end. The floor above the arches is four feet thick, The cross section of the concrete trough is 20 by 18 feet in the clear with side walls  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet thick and 18 feet high. The only material other than concrete used in the structure is 15,000 lineal feet of railroad rails bedded every four feet in the floor and sides of the trough and tied across the top to carry the stress of the floor and hold the sides rigid. It was designed and constructed by Thomas T. Johnson, C. E., of Chicago, who also designed and constructed the Bear Trap dam in the Chicago drainage canal. But you may ask,

“WHY ALL THIS EXPENDITURE?” There are many things which are to be considered in the answering of this question. First of all we must ascertain the nature of the soil and climate and see what kind of crops and fruits do well before making such an expenditure. All this has been done to the entire satisfaction, not only of those intimately interested, but to the satisfaction of every person who visits the valley and sees the rich harvests which she annually produces. Now, after having satisfied ourselves as to the water supply, the next thing to consider is the climate. The climate is the boast of Eddy county, the envy of California and Florida, and the salvation of many precious lives which would otherwise be lost in the rigorous climates of the northern and central states. From its latitude, one might think it an intolerable place in summer, but on account of an elevation of about 3,000 feet, we find a summer climate which has

DELIGHTFULLY WARM DAYS AND COOL NIGHTS. In the winter its clear skies and warm sun moderates the climate so that there are very few times when it is at all uncomfortable out of doors. Plowing and all out of door farm work can therefore be carried on without interruption almost every day in the year. For a person troubled with tuberculosis in any of its forms or bronchial trouble, the Pecos valley recommends itself strongly. It will not raise a man from the dead, but if he comes here in time his chances of recovery are very good, as can be testified by multitudes who flee here to escape the

winters of the northern states. The next question which presents itself to the practical farmer and stockraiser, is: What can I raise on the land under irrigation and what does it cost to raise it? All

CROPS suited to the temperate zone which can sustain an arid atmosphere can be raised in Eddy county under the Pecos Irrigation Company's system of canals. But this being primarily a stockraising country, the staples are alfalfa, kaffir [sic] corn, milo maize and sorghum. Alfalfa, which is the best fodder crop in the world, does especially well here. In the Pecos valley it can be cut at least four times and the average cutting is a ton to the acre. If this alfalfa, which is some like clover, is properly cared for and not too heavily pastured, it practically lasts forever when once well seeded down. The best time to sow alfalfa in the valley is from August 20 to October 10. It is slow to start and in this climate the root keeps on growing all winter. Therefore if it is planted late in the fall it gets ahead of the weeds in the spring, otherwise the weeds might choke it out. The average price of alfalfa in the valley is from \$7 to \$12 a ton, so it can be readily seen that raised as a crop to sell it is profitable, but as a crop to keep and feed out to stock, it is even more profitable. Regarding its lasting qualities, it will only be necessary to note one case, that of General R. S. Benson & Sons, of Florence, N. M., who have an alfalfa field 10 years old which they pasture with cattle and hogs and mow only for the purpose of keeping the weeds down. Under this treatment the field has not only held its own but increased its growth right along.

All lands are not suited to alfalfa, as alfalfa requires a very deep soil, as it is the deepest rooted crop known to agriculturists. Owing to the dry atmosphere Indian corn is not a success, as it takes rain to fertilize the tassels and thus make the ear. Right here kaffir [sic] corn and milo maize take the place of Indian corn. Either of these corns produce on an average 50 bushels of shelled corn per acre and three to five tons of excellent fodder. There is one peculiarity, however, of the kaffir [sic] corn, which should be noted here, and it is this:

when the stock is standing with a ripened head or ear, the leaves and stock are all green, thus making it possible to produce at the same time a fully ripened grain and a blue green fodder. The ordinary price for grain at harvesting time is \$13 to \$15 a ton, sacked and delivered, leaving the fodder shocked in the field at a cost all round not to exceed \$7.50 an acre, including rent of the land and water. This is a cash cost where the land is rented and all work hired at the regular prices. Before going further into this discussion it might be well to receive the testimony of a man who has tried it.

CARLSBAD, N. M., Sept. 1, 1902.

Dear Sir:—My experience in this vicinity has been as follows: I have lived near Carlsbad for 10 years, working at first for wages. I lost my savings in an unfortunate venture, and five years ago began farming, rented land with a partner, my only capital being a team and wagon. We have farmed 300 acres annually, chiefly in kaffir corn and milo maize. The yield has been from one to one and half tons per acre in the head, and it has sold at from \$9 to \$12 per ton, delivered, in the head. I rented an extra good 25 acres of alfalfa. It has cut from one to one and a half tons each cutting, four cuttings to the season. I pastured very little; not to exceed 30 days, and take everything off before January 1. I do not pasture in the spring. I figure kaffir corn costs me to raise as follows: planting, per acre, \$2; two irrigations, 50 cents; one cultivation, 20 cents; heading, \$1.25; corn being piled in the field, cutting and shocking stalks, \$1.50. An ordinary crop should make four tons of fodder per acre, and sells at \$4 to \$6 per ton, shocked in the field. My share of the proceeds of these three years farming has enabled me to pay \$950 on the place I now occupy, while I own, free and clear, seven head of horses, a cow, hogs, poultry and all farming implements necessary to work constantly two heavy three-horse teams, and I have money to carry me through another season.

Respectfully yours,  
D. S. Horton.

P. S. Since the above was written I have purchased another 40-acre tract.

Of course where a man did part of the work himself or owned the land, the cost per acre of raising and preparing for market would be greatly lessened. Winter wheat yields from

20 to 30 bushels per acre, and rye, oats and barley in proportion. Just lately cotton has been introduced with good results. Coming down to vegetables, we find that nearly every vegetable known to the temperate zone thrives well here and brings a good price. Referring to small fruits and berries, it might be interesting to quote a few prices for the above: berries, 20 to 30 cents a quart.

Onions, peppers, tomatoes, turnips, melons, squash, asparagus and celery are peculiarly adapted to the soil and climate. Melons of all descriptions reach perfection here. The cantaloupe are pronounced by experts to be equal if not better than the Rocky Ford melons and earlier, thus commanding a higher price in market. Mr. H. Woods, of 127 South Water street, Chicago, Ill., the well-known cantaloupe commission man, is handling the product of the valley and will testify at any time as to their excellence and salability. Sweet potatoes produce abundantly and net from \$50 to \$75 an acre profit. Tomatoes bear the whole season through and the highest sales on a quarter of an acre is \$150 worth by Mr. Willis Caldwell, of Malaga, N. M. In the production of fruits the Pecos valley rivals the world in flavor, size and quality. The vicinity of Carlsbad is especially adapted to the raising of peaches, plums, and apricots. The following statement rendered by one of the leading peach growers of Carlsbad will explain itself:

## STATEMENT OF RIO PECOS PEACH ORCHARD.

## Crop of 1902.

Harvested 637 trees or 4.71 acres recd -----	\$2,070.18
Expenses of labor, boxes, paper and hauling -----	700.21
Net receipts -----	<hr/> \$1,369.97
Gross receipts per acre, 135 trees per acre -----	439.53
Expense per acre -----	148.67
Net profit per acre -----	<hr/> \$ 290.86
(Four mile haul to railroad.)	

This little statement furnished me by the grower speaks louder than any words of mine possibly can as to the profit of fruit raising in the Pecos valley. In the breeding and raising of stock, the mild climate of the Pecos valley and its freedom from disastrous northern blizzards, which are the terror of the stockmen of Nebraska, Kansas and northwestern Texas, make this the Mecca for the cow man as well as the sheep breeder.

**SHEEP AND CATTLE.** The far-sighted cattle and sheep breeders are changing from the old method of making the range alone support their herds of cattle and sheep and are buying irrigated farms on which they raise the feed to winter their bred stock as well as the poor stock, thus saving the enormous loss which they have heretofore sustained when they depended on the range alone, not to say anything of the humanity of the new arrangements. To the farmer from the central and northern states who feeds his stock from 90 to 120 days at least, it seems strange that a sheep or cow can be wintered here absolutely without shelter and on at least half the feed it takes with him. There one-third of the feed goes to keep the animal warm while here half keeps it warm and fat, too. Not until the farmer has tried both places will he be fully convinced of

**THE GREAT SAVING** of feed, labor and expense of wintering stock here over the cost in the north and central states, such as Ohio, Michigan, Illinois and Wisconsin. Although the feeding and raising of cattle are probably just as profitable as the breeding and feeding of sheep, yet I think that our readers will be more interested in hearing how they breed, raise and feed sheep in the Pecos valley around Carlsbad. General Benson and Mr. O. S. Osborne have both practically demonstrated that steers can be profitably fed on kaffir [sic] corn and milo maize. Mr. Osborne is feeding a large number just outside the city of Carlsbad, and also running a large bunch of hogs with them. Cattle and hogs are both doing well and he will undoubtedly realize a handsome profit on this year's feeding, as

he has done in other years, perhaps more on account of the high price of hogs and pork as well as steers and beef.

Taking the south road from Carlsbad and following the canal down some three miles, we come to the Vineyard stock farm, owned and controlled by Mr. George Webster, Jr. Here Mr. Webster has a fine, large ranch and is practically demonstrating that lambs can be fed at a profit and easier than on the Arkansas valley in Colorado. By practical experience and comparison, he has found out that it takes just one-third less grain to produce the same results as are produced in the Arkansas valley. From the following our readers can gain some idea of his

METHOD OF FEEDING AND THE ACTUAL RESULTS of the same:

VINEYARD STOCK FARM  
CARLSBAD, N. M., Aug. 30, 1901.

Dear Sir:—In reply to your recent request for some details about the lamb-feeding experiment conducted at this farm last winter, I will state that on November 15, last, we placed in open feed lots on the Vineyard Stock farm about 3,700 head of lambs; 1,600 of these were Shropshire crosses on New Mexican ewes, the balance were Merino grades. All were bred and raised on the range about this valley. The lambs were dipped thoroughly before entering the feed lots. They were at once started on rations of milo maize with a little bran in it, and all the alfalfa hay they could eat. Plenty of salt and clean water were always before them. The water was pumped by windmills a depth of 125 feet, and was of good quality. The usual Fort Collins method of feeding was practiced—a feed of corn early in the morning and another each evening, always at the same hour. Alfalfa hay was kept before them at all times, but they were made to clean it up well. Milo maize was employed in preference to kaffir corn, for the reason that it is much softer and has a larger kernel, which renders it more easily masticated and digestible. I consider, too, that it has a relatively higher nutritive value than kaffir corn and in this valley it is less disturbed by birds during ripening than the more erect kaffir, while the yield is quite equal to either of the other varieties mentioned. These lambs took readily to feed, and as our winters here are always mild and open, no snows or high winds occurring at any time, the progress was almost phenomenal. Our lambs were easily worked up to full feed and held at about one and a half pounds of corn per day until finished. During the entire feeding period.

OUR TOTAL LOSS from all causes amounted to 18 head out of 3,700. We experienced no loss from indigestion, a very interesting point, as the exclusive feeding of milo maize was wholly experimental. On February 15, just 90 days after being placed on feed, they were consigned to Kansas City, where they arrived without loss or inconvenience and with a shrinkage of not fully three pounds per head, despite the haul of 900 miles. These lambs sold well and weighed over 80 pounds in Kansas City. A week later we consigned over 1,000 Shropshire crosses, which had been sheared and dipped 10 days previously. This lot reached market in fine condition and weighed 86 pounds, average in Kansas City. They topped all markets for this year on shorn lambs, selling within 10 cents of the highest price paid for the best Colorado woolled lambs. We obtained an average of five pounds of wool from each lamb in addition. The balance of our lambs followed rapidly, and we shipped our entire flock within 115 days and succeeded in "topping" the market on this occasion with them. The killing test at Kansas City ranged as high as 54 per cent and the flesh was pronounced fully equal to the finest Indian corn fed lamb. In conclusion, our operations were profitable and satisfactory. We believe that we have established here in the Pecos valley an exceedingly profitable industry and one which should easily place this section, with its numerous climatic and other advantages, in the foremost rank of lamb-feeding sections. The fact that there are thousands of well-graded and thoroughly acclimated lambs on the ranges all about us which can be purchased, delivered at our yards, at reasonable prices, the absence of nearly all disease, the mild, dry and magnificent winter climate, the entire absence of crop failures under our irrigation system and the uniformly large yields per acre of hay and corn, offer, in our opinion, a proposition for the feeder which cannot be easily excelled anywhere in this country. Trusting that the above will cover the information desired, and awaiting your further pleasure, I am,

Yours very truly,  
George H. Webster, Jr.

### Going a little farther into

THE SHEEP QUESTION it might be well to state that the rate on double deck loads of lambs is \$.40 per cwt. to Kansas City, which is not exorbitant when you consider the long haul. Mr. Webster is this year feeding 9,000 lambs. Most of these are fed at Hagerman, a small station south of Roswell, N. M. In a conversation with us he stated that from what knowledge he could gain, there was no place in the United States where feeding could be carried on so cheaply and with so great a



chance of profit as in the Pecos valley. No matter whether the corn belt fails or the Arkansas valley hay crop, there is always hay and milo maize and kaffir corn in plenty here. "It is my wish," said Mr. Webster, "that more feeders come into the valley for there is certainly room for more. It is also my wish that the breeders of this section would breed a good grade of Shropshire, for they certainly make the best feeders known." Speaking further, he said: "I first made it a practice to give \$.25 a head more for good grade Shropshire lambs and this last year I gave as high as \$.50 a head more for some because of their early maturity and greater adaptability to the feed lot."

"I also find," said he, "that the buyers in the market prefer the blackface lamb to all other breeds, which makes another strong reason why I pay more for blackface lambs." Mr. Webster plants each year 1,200 acres of crops and is each year extending his operations. It might be interesting at this point to let our readers see some of the results obtained in the market with his lambs.

LIVESTOCK REPORT, MARCH 14 1901,  
BY A WELL-KNOWN CHICAGO HOUSE.

"Our sale to-day of the George H. Webster shorn lambs, fed at Carlsbad, N. M., was the first clipped stock of the season, and we obtained the highest price paid at the market thus far for the straight lot."

Again, by the same house:

"Our Kansas City house sold yesterday for George H. Webster, 235 clipped lambs averaging 86 pounds at \$5 per cwt., which is the highest price paid for shorn lambs on the market this year. They were fed on kaffir corn and alfalfa. This price is equal to \$5.45 in the fleece."

Mr. Webster has since topped the market two successive times and hopes to do so again in the near future with his February 21 shipments. I might go on and extend my account of large feeding and ranching operations in the Pecos valley to a far greater length. It is not necessary, however, to do this

with the farmer or stockman of average intelligence, for he, like the man from Missouri, only has to be shown to believe.

Before leaving the valley it might be well to acquaint our readers a little more intimately with the

CITY OF CARLSBAD, NEW MEXICO. Why was the name of Eddy changed to Carlsbad as it now stands? About two and one-half miles north of Carlsbad is a spring which is noted all over the West for the great medicinal properties of its waters in cases of stomach trouble, constipation or liver troubles. This spring spouts forth 5,500 gallons a minute of clear sparkling water, which upon analysis was found to be almost exactly like, in mineral properties, the waters of the famous Freidrichshall springs of Germany, where the invalids of the Old and New World go for health. This spring being so near like that famous spring near Carlsbad, it was decided to call the city Carlsbad instead of Eddy, as it was known by the old inhabitants. No one who comes to Carlsbad in the summer time can help but call it beautiful, with its long rows of tall cottonwoods, its shady drives, and its green lawns. Although not so large as her sister up the Pecos, yet she is a thriving little city of 1,200 to 1,500 inhabitants and rapidly on the increase. Taking the town as a whole, it has 30 miles of large, handsome shade trees. To make this stretch of handsome drives and parks, it has taken an immense amount of labor and 10,000 trees, mostly cottonwoods, which were chosen on account of their quick growth and thick foliage which affords better shade than any other varieties of trees. The town has two substantial banking firms besides a number of large general merchandise and grocery firms. As a place to stop in, it has a large 50-room hotel recently purchased by the Schlitz Brewing Co., of Milwaukee, who renamed it Hotel Schlitz and placed Mr. Hutchinson in as proprietor. Besides this there are a number of boarding and rooming houses and short-order restaurants. With all these places of public accommodation they are all crowded to their utmost capacity and rooming houses and houses to rent are in

great demand and unobtainable. Then, again, I hear the question, How much money does it require

TO GET A START in this beautiful country? My answer is this, The business and real estate firms have informed me that it is useless to start here with less than \$1,000 to \$2,000. The Dallas "News" prints an interesting item which will well illustrate and strengthen the point I wish to bring out. In 1891, Mr. Sharp, formerly of Michigan and Nebraska, came to Carlsbad, before the railroad had reached the city of Carlsbad. In the part of the town known as La Huerta, he purchased 15 acres. He then went home and sold his share of the old homestead and brought back the \$1,000 which he thus obtained to make improvements with. That is all he put in directly. "To-day," said Mr. Sharp, "my wife and I are the owners of 37 acres, 25 of which are in orchards. The land is all paid for and in bearing, and the market in Pecos valley alone takes all that it produces. The land is divided into 20 acres of peach trees, early and late, about five in apples, pears, prunes, nectarines, cherries, quinces, etc. To-day the place is out of debt and in excellent condition. I have had only one partial peach failure since the trees began bearing and I consider my little fruit farm worth to-day \$30,000. The question is, did it pay and where could I have invested that \$1,000, and my muscle and brains to a better advantage?" Farmers, ranchmen, gardeners and fruitmen are not the only ones who may find pleasure and a profitable investment in the Pecos valley. There are excellent

OPPORTUNITIES FOR INVESTMENTS which go hand in hand with the products of the valley. The Pecos river affords a great amount of power—the plains on either side furnish pasture for large bands of sheep which annually produce a million and over pounds of wool. Why not establish woolen mills along with the scouring mill now run by Mr. J. F. Matheson. Ten years ago such an idea would have been laughed at, but to-day it has been proven not only practicable but profitable. Take, for example, the woolen mills of Pendleton, Ore., the Sunflower plants mills, of Topeka, Kan., the

Rio Grande Woolen Mills Co., of Albuquerque, N. M.,<sup>2</sup> why cannot the Pecos valley have a woolen mill and thus make a home market for some of its wool and bring to the town and valley even greater prosperity than it is now seeing? Such a mill as has been established at Albuquerque, N. M., with a thousand-yard capacity and using 100 to 150 hands, only takes \$100,000 to put in operation. Even now there are rumors of a projected mill by Las Vegas (N. M.) men. Thus the infinite possibilities of this beautiful and fruitful valley stretch out before us. Could we look ahead 10 years from now we no doubt would see the valley thickly settled with a contented and prosperous people and dotted here and there with rich and thriving cities.

### *The Pecos Valley in June\**

#### The Sheep and Wool Season—The Question of Freight Rates—Lambs Doing Finely.

The month of June in the far-famed Pecos valley is a time when the traveler sees on every hand magnificent fields of alfalfa ready for the mower or already cut and stacked and growing for the second cutting. Lower down in the valley he sees large fields of cotton just beginning to show up green and luxuriant, also many acres of kaffir corn, milo maize, and other farm products in abundance. Hanging from the trees are the large, luscious Elberta peaches of which the valley is so justly proud. Many of the trees were so laden with fruit that half or two-thirds had to be picked off in order to save the limbs from breaking down.

Already these peaches are ripening (June 20), and by the time this is published, they will be picked and marketed in New Mexico and Colorado, and the later peaches will be coming on. Those owning orchards already report orders for

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2. For full description of this Albuquerque enterprise see Wm. J. Parish, *The Charles Ilfeld Company: A Study of the Rise and Decline of Mercantile Capitalism in New Mexico*, Harvard University Press, 1961, p. 330.

\* (From Our Traveling Staff Correspondent) *The American Shepherd's Bulletin*, vol. 8, no. 7, July, 1903. This no. 7 was annotated by F. D. R.

more than they can supply, mostly from Colorado, Texas and New Mexico towns.

THE RECENT RAINS around Roswell and Carlsbad, extending from Pecos city to Amarillo, have made the hearts of the sheep and cow men glad. Shearing is finished around Carlsbad by June 5 and the wool is all in by June 10.

Around Carlsbad, Eddy county, the sheep men shear twice a year, in the spring and fall. The wool grades fine medium and medium and is mostly a rather short staple.

A few have adopted the method of shearing only once a year but it is the general opinion among them that the sheep do better and are freer from scab when shorn twice a year.

This next winter there will be at least 25,000 lambs and yearlings and two-year old wethers fed in the valley.

This makes a good market right at home for the ranchman's surplus wethers and lambs.

It is also a good thing for the farmer for it makes a good home market for his alfalfa, kaffir corn and milo maize.

One of the feeders of the valley, Mr. George H. Webster, is so zealous in his preference for blackface lambs that he pays from a quarter to a half dollar more for good Shropshire grades.<sup>1</sup>

THE WOOL SEASON this year has brought for the ranchman an average of 12½ to 13 cents a pound for his wool. At this price there is a pretty good margin in it for the eastern dealer. The market has been mainly represented by three Boston firms and the local scouring mill at Roswell. The wool here more than pays the running expenses of the sheep. They estimate 50 to 60 cents a head for running expenses. Taking an average herd at an average price there is about 10 to 15 cents profit a head on the wool alone. This of course does not count the losses which are liable to be sustained, but the liability here is less than in many other places in the West. The last clip of wool to come into Carlsbad was that of S. Pitt, who

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1. Shropshire sheep originated in the Downs of England. This is a popular farm sheep marked by medium-weight wool and good mutton. It requires a minimum of pasturage. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1961.

runs his sheep about 75 to 80 miles northeast of Carlsbad on the staked plains which extend over into that part of New Mexico. These plains are considered a

GOOD RANGING PLACE FOR SHEEP and support many prosperous sheep owners. The most prominent of these are: A. J. Crawford, Buckeye Sheep Co., C. M. Acrey, J. O. Cameron & Co., Victor Vincent, J. W. Turknitt, P. C. Akin, Alston Bros., F. P. Bingham and many others, whose names I did not learn.

Many of these men live out there on the plains nearly the year around, only coming into town when out of food, to get shearers, dipping hands, etc.

All of them use lime and sulphur, according to the government formula, just after shearing and if the sheep get scabby when they have considerable wool on, they generally use some preparation which has no lime in it, of which there are many good kinds on the market. The sheep men, as I have said before, are all an intelligent, progressive class of white men on the Pecos valley.

Their greatest drawback is the fact that they have only one outlet for their wool and mutton and that is by the Santa Fe under the name of the Pecos Valley & Northeastern.<sup>2</sup>

I have been traveling among the sheepmen of this territory now for nearly two years and have yet to find the stock man who has a good word to say for the road or its management. Surely with such a record, the blame cannot be all on the side of the stock men. There must be something the matter with this branch of the Santa Fe. We find no such complaints on the Santa Fe at such points as Trinidad, Colo., Newton, Kansas, or El Paso, Texas. The only remedy is to get a competing line; then things will be different and both lines will be compelled to give better accommodation and a closer freight rate.

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2. The Pecos Valley and Northeastern Railroad was promoted by J. J. Hagerman. The line was built from Pecos, Texas to Carlsbad, New Mexico in 1890-91. In 1894 it was extended to Roswell and four years later to Amarillo, Texas. The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad acquired this line in 1901. Greever in *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, 32:178 (April, 1957).

THE RATE ON GREASE WOOL for Pecos valley points is \$1.78 per cwt. According to what their accommodating agents tell me, if a man has, say 35,000 lbs of wool and can only get 25,000 in a car, he must then pay for the remaining 10,000 lbs. the local rate which is considerably higher than the \$1.78, which in itself is no small thing.

Wool from Trinidad points last year was \$1.54½; now the distance from there is practically the same to Boston as from Carlsbad to Boston, yet the freight rate is nearly a quarter of a cent a pound less from Trinidad, Colo., than from Carlsbad, N. M.

There is a new road being surveyed across the valley and it is hoped by all that the day is not far distant when there will be railroad competition in the Pecos valley. The passage of the Elkins Act<sup>3</sup> ought to be instrumental in bringing down the freight rates if it is rigidly enforced.

All the sheep and cattle men ask is to be put on a common footing with their brother stockmen in other states.

For the past three weeks there have been heavy rains all over the valley and the grass is doing finely. The lambs out on the plains and up in the Guadalupes and White mountains are all doing finely and bid fair to make 60 to 75 pounders by fall if they keep on as they have begun.

The loss among the goat men up in the mountains was heavy, some losing fully 20 per cent with the cold rains.

The sheep men fared better, as 5 per cent was a large loss with them.

The record breaking clip of wool of the season was that shorn by Elza White at Jim Miller's camp, near Elkins, N. M.<sup>4</sup> His ewes averaged 10 pounds to the head for which he received 13 cents a pound.

*Young Observer.*

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3. The Elkins Act of 1903 forbade railroads from charging rates that differed from the published rates and also forbade the receiving or giving of rebates.

4. A post office was established at Elkins, Colfax County, New Mexico, September 19, 1876. It was discontinued on January 10, 1900. The first postmaster was Andrew R. Cameron. Sheldon Dikes in *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, 34:55 (Jan., 1959).

## Book Reviews

*Documentos para servir a la historia del Nuevo México, 1538-1778*. Colección Chimalistac, Vol. 13. Madrid, Ediciones José Porrúa Turanzas, 1962. Pp. viii, 484. 2 folding maps, index. \$26.65.

Some four years ago José Porrúa Turanzas, member of the Mexican book family, launched the Colección Chimalistac of books and documents about the history of New Spain. The volume being here reviewed is No. 13 in that series, and the first to be primarily concerned with the history of New Mexico. Other volumes have concerned Baja California, the Pacific Northwest Coast, Mexico in general, Alta California, and Texas.

The collection is well-printed, paper-bound, and not inexpensive. The importance of the materials presented, the criterion being the rarity of the original work, and the limited editions of 225 copies, make the rather elevated price not out of line for libraries and serious collections of Southwestern Americana. Volume 13, for example, is a reprinting of about one half of the now quite rare Volume IV of *Documentos para la historia de México*, tercera serie, plus other pertinent documents.

A terminal date of 1778 is somewhat misleading in light of the actual contents, though it is technically correct, for one document is from the pen of Fray Silvestre Domínguez, O.F.M., who wrote the manuscript in April of that year. However, the materials presented by that famous early New Mexico priest are in the nature of an historical compendium of local events, not extending past 1710; while 1717 seems to be the terminal date of the remaining materials in this volume.

Contained within this book are such landmarks in the colonial period of New Mexico as Fray Alonso de Benavides' Memorial of 1630; the Mercurio Volante with the news of the recuperation of the provinces of New Mexico by Carlos de



Sigüenza y Góngora; the Relaciones of Father Gerónimo de Zárate Salmerón; and a series of documents concerning New Mexico during and after the reconquest. One particularly interesting document, though very likely a contemporary forgery, is a detailed explanation of the Zárate Salmerón account, "written" by Jesuit Father Juan Amando Niel. This account by Niel is as interesting as it is inconsistent, appearing to be a rather polite refutation of the Zárate Salmerón Relaciones, written in a similar style, consisting of a lengthy series of paragraphs in imitation of that Franciscan. Leading Jesuit Historian, Father Ernest J. Burrus, indicates that even Niel is not known to have existed, nor could he have possibly been with Atondo in Baja California in 1654 and with Kino in Sonora-Arizona in 1705 and still be writing about the events some years later.

In summary, the book provides to the student and researcher in Southwestern History a treasury of unedited original documents for detailed study. Among them are some of the most important, and from them there is to be gained a picture of the problems that faced New Mexico, especially in the late 17th and early 18th Century, such as possible expansion, defense against external Indian enemies, control and remissionization of the Pueblo Indian groups, resettlement of the area by Spaniards, and internal conflict.

University of New Mexico

DONALD C. CUTTER

*Bad Medicine & Good. Tales of the Kiowas.* By Wilbur Sturtevant Nye. Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press. Pp. xxiv, 291, index. \$5.00.

In 1937 Wilbur Sturtevant Nye published *Carbine and Lance* in which he detailed exciting episodes in the history of Fort Sill. *Bad Medicine and Good* is a continuation of Nye's basic interest in Fort Sill, and the Indians, especially the Kiowa, who figured so prominently in the fort's history.

The book presents 44 episodes or "stories" in the life of the Kiowa, introduced by a sketch of Kiowa history con-

structed from a number of individual Kiowa accounts. Nye obtained the bulk of his material from interviews, largely with George Hunt and his relatives. Hunt worked with James Mooney, ethnologist, in 1890, and Nye was able to use several other informants contacted earlier by Mooney. Capt. Hugh L. Scott, stationed at Fort Sill during the 1890's, included a few narratives in his manuscript on the Sign Language, and Nye also made use of some of these.

In presenting his "stories" Nye has rewritten the material following "the Indian manner of expression as far as possible without resorting to artificialities . . . /or distorting/the content." Nye has been able to present the simple, direct flow of the Kiowa war narrative in good facsimile. With few exceptions "The ideas and attitudes presented in the stories/do seem to/belong entirely to the Indians" (xix).

Although the narratives cover a narrow range of Kiowa life, notably war and religion, Nye has introduced accounts dealing with other aspects of their culture. For example, he takes up the uses of the buffalo, eagle-catching, healing, sorcery, and the Sun Dance, much of the latter drawn from Mooney. While Nye has not endeavored to present a well-rounded description of Kiowa life and culture by means of selected narratives, he nevertheless deserves praise for the way in which he has interwoven relevant details of Kiowa custom into the accounts.

The historian will find little in the way of traditional history in *Bad Medicine and Good*. Some of the war narratives reach back to the 18th century and reveal the range of Kiowa raiding at this and other times. Occasionally Nye supplies a bit of culture-history when he describes the origins of particular "medicine" pieces and indicates how they have been passed down through family lines. The narratives dealing with the reservation period are of interest in bringing out some of the interpersonal conflicts that attended the overriding of traditional custom and belief by those of the invading non-Indian hunters, soldiers, and missionaries.

A book of this kind, grounded as it is in real-life situations, possesses a singular virtue which other more formal works may not have. The living situations serve to bring new understandings with respect to the way in which attitudes and motives were applied in making decisions and in regulating inter-personal relations.

The fact that Nye spends so much time with Kiowa warfare is not a simple consequence of his own military life and interest. Kiowa culture, as with other Indian groups in the high plains, largely revolved around raiding for booty and prestige. The desperate will to live up to the model of a warrior stands out starkly in the composed and courageous death of the wounded and cornered warrior as well as in the foolhardy escapades of those who, on a dare, ride out to be targets for entrenched soldiers or who ride through an enemy encampment for thrills and applause. Of all the narratives, "The T'au" seems to capture the very character of the Kiowa raid. The hardships of the campaign, unexpected dangers, cruel necessities, loyal comradeship, warrior idealism, assumption of leadership and decision-making in a time of crisis, and finally the aura of the mysterious in the miraculous return of comrades given up for dead,—all are found in this narrative.

In short, Mr. Nye is to be commended for assembling a Kiowa anthology that is interesting, informative, and written with a view to controlling the bias and symbolic context of the non-Indian. The sketches of Mr. Nick Eggenhofer, scattered throughout the text to illustrate an episode in the narrative, add a lively quality to the tone of the book. However, no effort is made to achieve authentic reproduction of Kiowa costuming or equipment. Two small maps help the reader orient himself to the area where the actions take place, "The Red River Area in the 1870's" and "The Staked Plains Region."

University of Toronto

FRED W. VOGET

*Fallen Guidon; The Forgotten Saga of General Jo Shelby's Confederate Command, The Brigade That Never Surrendered, and its expedition to Mexico.* By Edward Adams Davis. Santa Fe: Stagecoach Press, 1962. Pp. xiii, 174. Ltd. edition, \$5.00.

This interesting chronicle is the odyssey of General Jo Shelby and his men who roamed across Texas and Mexico immediately after the Civil War.

When General Buckner and Kirby Smith finally surrendered all the Confederate forces west of the Mississippi River, Shelby's Missouri Cavalry Division (known before as the Missouri Cavalry Brigade or the Iron Brigade) refused to give up. Instead, reorganized as a new Iron Brigade under Shelby's rigid discipline, it rode across Texas—through Corsicana, Waco, Austin and San Antonio to Eagle Pass. There Shelby ordered the Confederate Stars and Bars to be thrown into the muddy waters of the Rio Grande, and tossed his own Henry of Navarre plume after it for good measure. The Shelby bridgade's objective was service in the civil war then raging in Mexico, either with the Juaristas or under the banner of the Emperor Maximilian, but in either case to rally some 50,000 Confederate emigres and dominate Mexico. Shelby and his band were primarily soldiers of fortune, fighting guerrillas and others as they went along, temporarily restoring order in anarchic Houston (a detachment did this) and Austin; massacring horse-thieves, foraging off the land, and killing whoever opposed them. Upon entering Mexico they sold some of their military equipment to the Juarez forces, but because of their basic dislike for democracy and liberal political institutions decided to serve Maximilian's monarchist cause. Finally, however, in Mexico City they were rejected by Maximilian, and, after a final review, dispersed to the four winds. Some went to the Orient, others to the South Seas, others to an experimental colony in Orizaba, a few joined Juarez and others, including Shelby, finally drifted homeward to Missouri.

Contrary to the volume's subtitle, Davis' story is hardly a "forgotten saga," for as late as 1954, Daniel O'Flaherty in his full-length biography of Jo Shelby devoted a whole section, over one hundred pages, to the marauding expedition. O'Flaherty also wrote his account from the same basic source Davis relies upon, namely the reminiscences of Shelby's highly emotional adjutant, Major John N. Edwards.

*Fallen Guidon*, however, is a labor of personal devotion. Two of Dr. Davis' grandfathers fought for the Confederacy and one of them rode with Shelby's brigade. The author has traversed at least a part of the route, and has immersed himself in the details of soldier-life. His descriptions of the daily routine of the cavalry troops are almost as real as the smoke of the campfires, the sweaty leather of the saddles, the sagebrush, the mesquite, the shimmering heat, the biting night winds off the *llano estacado*, the thin mountain air, and the lush sub-tropical vegetation of Mexico—all are there, and vividly real in his word-pictures. At times the prose becomes too turgid with clichés of the "Gray Glory" and the ragged guidon. After more than one hundred and fifty pages of duels, various other bloodlettings and even mass extermination, Dr. Davis finally cuts through the sentimental haze and admits that Shelby and his heroes were essentially a gang—"reckless, butchering centaurs who made conscience subsidiary to slaughter."

University of New Mexico

GEORGE WINSTON SMITH

*Las Vegas, New Mexico—the Town that Wouldn't Gamble.*

By Milton W. Callon. Las Vegas, N. M.: Las Vegas Daily Optic, The Las Vegas Publishing Co., Inc., 1962. Pp. 352. \$5.75. Edition limited to 1500 copies.

In his preface for *Las Vegas, New Mexico—the Town that Wouldn't Gamble* Mr. Callon writes as follows: "There were many reasons for writing the history of Las Vegas but the most important reason concerns the future of the community involved. I believe, for a city to progress, it should have a

documentary account of its past as a guide to the future." Only time can evaluate this book's success as a guide; it is possible, however to examine other qualities.

Histories, as this reviewer understands them, are compiled from sources which are pinned down by footnotes or a bibliography. Mr. Callon has evidently done a great deal of research but has supplied no bibliography and of the two footnotes the book contains, one explains the mis-interpretation of a Spanish phrase and the other states that a line of poetry is copyrighted. This does not mean that sources are neglected. The book consists largely of quotations and generally their source is given in the preceding text. Usually the reference is fairly plain but sometimes it is not. This, for example, is taken from page 27.

"On April 2, 1864, a correspondent traveling with the district judge and the attorney general described Las Vegas thusly:" The quotation follows and the reader is left to wonder what correspondent, what district judge and what attorney general; also where the quotation came from.

There is further trouble. Mr. Callon feels free to quote from someone who is quoting somebody else. Here is a statement from page 78. "—Father Vollmar described conditions in New Mexico from the records of Father Projectus Machebeuf which pertains to the time of Archbishop Lamy's arrival in the territory." Again a quotation follows and again there is a question: just who is quoting what?

These are two instances but there are many more and it is readily apparent that footnotes or a bibliography or both would be of considerable value. Indeed the lack of them might well give a historian who was also a carping critic a case of the galloping fantods.<sup>1</sup>

While *Las Vegas, New Mexico—the Town that Wouldn't Gamble* is open to criticism as a history it does come through in fine style with an adjunct all good books should have. After

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1. Not wishing to compound Mr. Callon's vagueness, a source is given. The definition of fantod appears on page 918, Second Edition, Webster's New International Dictionary, G. and C. Merriam Co., Springfield, Mass.

a slow start, a romance develops. There are two heroines—East Las Vegas and West Las Vegas—and for a time they live in amity but a villain parts them. In November, 1897, Russell A. Kistler arrived, founded the Las Vegas Daily Optic and fell in love with New Town—East Las Vegas—but spurned her older sister, West Las Vegas. Due to his efforts the sisters separated and a whole succession of heroes could not unite them. Mr. Callon deals sternly with Russ Kistler but it is evident that he holds a sneaking fondness for the man. So does this reviewer. Where else can you find an editor who describes the subjects of a lynching as being “jerked to Jesus”?

Having considered history and romance, another aspect of *Las Vegas, New Mexico—the Town that Wouldn't Gamble* must be mentioned. It is, quite patently, a labor of love. Mr. Callon may neglect or mistreat source material, he may philosophize, he may write as though he was a member of the Booster's Club and yet his real affection for the place shines through it all. Because of this very bias he has produced an unusually clear study of a little western community with its faults and foibles, its ambitions and achievements.

The town, of course, has a site and streets and buildings. Mr. Callon describes these but chiefly he concerns himself with people. He tells of the early Spanish colonists and their difficulties. He speaks of the traders on the Santa Fe Trail, their wagon masters and mule skinnners and the merchants they supplied. He considers the altercation between the parish priest and the Jesuits who founded the first college. He writes about Fort Union and the soldiers, of the railroad and the railroaders, of the vigilantes and the law officers and the toughs, of fabulous Montezuma Hot Springs and the guests there entertained. Jesse James and Billy the Kid slip into the story. Pat Garret threatens to arm his prisoners, subduing an ugly crowd. Russ Kistler names the murderers in jail, prophesying that, before morning, they will dangle from the old windmill in the plaza. Bartenders open saloon doors along Railroad Avenue and do a little advertizing for old 999, the

bordello across the alley in the rear. Wailing penitentes drag their crosses to hilltops at Easter time and politicians meet and plot in secret conclave. People, always people, come and go, pursuing their varied, many-patterned paths.

Mr. Callon has produced a genuine bit of Western Americana and this reviewer is happy that it came into his hands.

Albuquerque, N. M.

BENNETT FOSTER

*Jacob Hamblin, Buckskin Apostle.* By Paul Bailey. Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1961. Pp. 408. This is an exact reprint of the same work published in a limited edition by Westernlore Press in 1948.

Jacob Hamblin has become one of the legendary figures of the Mormon Country. The first book bearing his name as its title appeared in 1881, five years prior to his death. Written by James A. Little from reminiscences of Hamblin's life obtained through personal interviews, a second edition appeared in 1909. In 1944, the same work was published under the title *Three Mormon Classics* with selections from the journals of Wilford Woodruff and George Q. Cannon.

During the 1945-46 season the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association of the Mormon Church used a special edition of Little's sketches from the life of Hamblin as a lesson manual for those of scout age. This work by James A. Little, along with a portion of the handwritten journal of Jacob Hamblin held by the Church Historian's library at Salt Lake City, was the basis for Paul Bailey's fictionalized biographical study of Jacob Hamblin, designated by Brigham Young, apostle to the Indians.

A study of Jacob Hamblin by Pearson H. Corbett, published in 1952, lists and uses new sources pertaining to the life and work of Jacob Hamblin that could have been used (along with other sources now available to some future Hamblin biographer) by Bailey for a major revision of his 1948 study. As it is, *Jacob Hamblin, Buckskin Apostle*, is the most readable (if not entirely dependable) account presently



available of the life of this legendary figure of Mormon-Indian relations on the frontier.

Mr. Bailey has caught the spirit of this unusual personality and of the community that he was a member of. In a clear and forceful way the author portrays the devotion Hamblin held for his church, the influence it had upon his life, and the sacrifices he made for it. The church demanded all and he gave all: wives, children, personal gain, and his own physical health and welfare. If there had been more to give, the author suggests that it would have been given unquestioningly. This theme is carried to the reader throughout the work.

During the first quarter-century of its existence in the west the church needed such men as Jacob Hamblin badly. From the beginning in the valley of the Great Salt Lake colonizers were sent out in every direction to establish Mormon claims on watering places and cultivable land. Brigham Young's concept of a state for his followers included—besides Utah—what is now western Colorado, southwestern Wyoming, southern Idaho, Nevada, and a corridor via Las Vegas springs and San Bernardino to a seaport at San Diego. Northern Arizona and northwestern New Mexico were explored and communities established there. Such men as Jacob Hamblin, Thales Haskell, Dudley Leavitt, Dimick Huntington and Daniel Jones were necessary to Brigham Young and his vision of a self-sustaining community.

Here in this great interior basin the problems of Ohio, Missouri and Illinois to the average church member seemed far away, but as small colonizing units pushed into new country in all directions the Indian groups that surrounded them were very real. Jacob Hamblin represents a type of man that developed in the church that the leaders could depend upon to act as a liaison between the new colony and their Indian neighbors until the two groups arrived at a working relationship.

Paul Bailey in this work gives us a highly interesting insight into the nature of Mormonism at its outer limits during three decades, a knowledge of Mormon-Indian relations, and a

view of interactions between various Indian groups such as the Paiute, Hopi and Navaho. The Mountain Meadows massacre, the Utah war, the exploration of the area by government explorers such as Major John Wesley Powell, the federal menace to the brethren who practiced plural marriage; these and other incidents are woven into this very readable narrative of the life of Jacob Hamblin.

The book is recommended by this reviewer as an opportunity for a rewarding reading experience.

Brigham Young University

S. LYMAN TYLER

*The Hoskaninni Papers: Mining in Glen Canyon, 1897-1902.*

By Robert B. Stanton. Edited by C. Gregory Crampton and Dwight L. Smith. University of Utah Anthropological Papers. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, November, 1961. Pp. xiii, 177. \$2.75.

Despite how widely separated gold mining locales may be, each with its own peculiarities and problems, recurring themes run through their histories. Following the discovery of nuggets or veins, big dreams lure men and money to isolated canyons where hard realities challenge their ingenuity—most often to provide sufficient water for mining. Continuously uncovering gold-bearing gravels or rocks in quantities rich enough to pay heavy expenses becomes impossible. The bubbles pop and the camps die, except for a few lonely souls who never lose hope.

Stanton's diary tells such a story. When his tests proved conclusively that gold could be taken from Glen Canyon, he obtained the financial backing to build a dredge for the Hoskaninni Company. Despite heavy expenditures in time, energy, and money, the powdery gold could not be saved by large-scale operations and the enterprise failed completely. Visitors to the area can still see the dredge machinery, broken and rusting away.

Not only do readers of western mining history find the stories similar in many respects, but they often meet the

same men. It was personally interesting to renew acquaintances with Colonel Benjamin R. Hite, brother of the discoverer of gold in Glen Canyon and one of its prominent operators, whom I had met as an active claim owner in the upper forks of Red River, Taos County, New Mexico. Too, Stanton visited H. G. Reiling's dredges at Bannack, Montana, and it was this gentleman who built the first dredge in New Mexico at Elizabethtown, Colfax County, and several in Colorado.

Certainly this book is valuable in the series detailing Utah's past, although few would pick it to read for pleasure. But to the person interested in mining history, here is an unusual opportunity to chew meat that belongs on the scant bones of notes we more often collect on mining enterprises. The death—as *well* as the birth—is spelled out clearly, so that we better understand the history of other mining ventures.

Editors Crampton of the University of Utah and Smith of Miami University of Ohio are to be congratulated for their careful work. The footnotes alone make many of Stanton's notes meaningful and indicate intensive research. The pictures, many of them by Stanton, add much to the story. It would have been helpful, however, if several places mentioned in the book could have been found on the map; I got lost. Perhaps that is the proper experience for those of us searching for the history as well as the gold.

University of Texas

JIM B. PEARSON

*New Mexico, A History of Four Centuries.* By Warren A. Beck. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962. Pp. xii, 363. Illus., index.

There has long been need for a one-volume history of New Mexico. Professor Beck saw this need and attempted to meet it. Unfortunately, his history is marred by a number of errors and a much larger number of dubious or incorrect statements. These will not be obvious to the general reader except in a few cases, but to those folks who have more knowledge of the sub-

ject, the weaknesses of this book will be more apparent. A few of the dubious statements arose from the use of weak source materials and others from an incomplete understanding of the history of New Mexico. On the other hand the author has performed a useful service in drawing heavily upon unused materials in the form of university theses and dissertations.

In the preface Professor Beck states that he is not wedded to any central theme in this work but that he does try to be objective, especially because of the three-fold cultural background in New Mexico.

Chapter I describes the geography of New Mexico and Chapter II discusses the Indian folks. In regard to the latter, it would have been advisable throughout the text to have made less use of the word "Indian" and greater use of the name of a particular group of Indians. The Navahos differ somewhat in their culture from their Apache kinsmen and the Pueblos, of course, represent a village culture as against the semi-nomadic or nomadic life of their distant enemies. Chapters III to V cover the Spanish Colonial period. Chapter VI witnesses the arrival of the Americans from across the Eastern Plains and the balance of the book deals with the period following the American occupation of the Southwest.

The last three chapters attempt to evaluate the New Mexico that has emerged in the second half of the 20th century. It might have been better if the author had maintained a chronological pattern because the evaluation stretches into the historical background. Furthermore, the sources used are not always up to date, so the evaluation as of the 1950's suffers a bit in detail.

It should be pointed out that the name "New Mexico" was used as early as 1561 (p. 3) ; the uprising of 1837 was something more than a Pueblo Indian revolt (p. 121) ; the *encomienda* in New Mexico was not an allotment of labor to Spanish settlers, but a system of tribute payments to the *encomenderos* (p. 65) ; the quotation credited to James S. Calhoun should be credited to William Bent (p. 179) ; the discussion of the Indian problem (pp. 183-199) leaves much to be de-

sired ; I suggest that the relative importance of the Indian has increased rather than decreased because they acquired the privilege of voting about a decade ago (p. 283) ; Harvey Ferguson, Sr. was a Congressman from New Mexico, not his son, the author (p. 322) ; the Governor of the state, no doubt, would like to have 5,000 jobs at his disposal, but that is not so today (p. 298).

All in all, *New Mexico, A History of Four Centuries*, is a disappointment. The author saw a gap in New Mexicana, but that gap yet remains to be filled in a single volume.

F. D. R.

*On Desert Trails Today and Yesterday*. By Randall Henderson. Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1961. Pp. 357. Preface. Illustrations, index. \$5.00.

A present-day peculiarity which would have astonished our ancestors is the passion a great many people now feel for the arid expanses of the American Southwest. Where the Forty-Niners saw only a forbidding and dangerous wasteland, their descendants find strength and beauty. Instead of escaping from the desert, they escape to it. "Over four million human beings have now established more or less permanent homes on this desert," says Randall Henderson, and adds that at least another million are part-time inhabitants, while millions more have come as tourists.

Mr. Henderson has spent the best part of his life following desert trails and telling the world about the wonderful places where they have led him. A graduate of the University of Southern California with some experience as a sports writer on the Los Angeles *Times*, he decided as a young man to make the desert his home. He edited country newspapers, served his country in World War I, and found his true vocation when he started *Desert Magazine* in the early thirties. Into it he put all his experience and enthusiasm. An indefatigable traveler and camper, he spent his spare time getting to know the country and its people. He chronicled his forays

and friendships in his magazine, and the first-hand quality of his writing, together with his unassuming but appealing style, soon raised the circulation from 600 to 30,000.

*On Desert Trails* is a selection of his work from the files of the magazine, with changes and additions. For the sake of background he begins with Coronado, who made "the first extended exploration" of the area, but ancient history does not interest him much and he hastens on to the coming of the Americans, the Gadsden Purchase, the era of the prospectors, the arrival of the Mormons, the building of the great dams, the rush of home seekers during the last few decades.

His background painted in, he is free to launch out into a loosely connected series of chapters, mostly about people and places he has come to know at first hand. He has a passion for wild palm trees, and has traveled hundreds of miles looking for hidden palm oases. He includes a wonderful chapter on the old prospectors he used to know and visit. His account of Death Valley Scotty and the Albert Johnsons, who kept Scotty in money and railroad tickets, is just as good. There are fine accounts of the Lower California Peninsula, the cliff dwellers of the Kaiparowits Plateau, the Hopi snake dancers, Monument Valley, the Havasupai Indians in their beautiful and inaccessible canyon, the first steamboat on the Colorado (he located the wreckage), rock hounds, scientists—even some vivid impressions of the Sahara, where he went as an Air Force officer in World War II.

A particularly appealing chapter is the one about Everett Ruess, the young poet and artist who left the world of banks and motor cars to wander the Utah wilderness alone, and who disappeared without trace in November, 1934. Mr. Henderson has followed his trail long and carefully and reconstructs plausibly what happened to him.

*On Desert Trails* is much more than a collection of facts about the Land of Little Rain. It is a testament, full of wisdom and devotion, from the original apostle of the desert. Ordinary inarticulate human beings who feel drawn to this country will thank him for saying what they cannot say for

themselves about "the desert which lies beyond the golf courses, the cocktail bars and the heated swimming pools—beyond the mask of aridity."

"To those who come to the desert with tolerance," he says, "it gives friendliness; to those who come with courage it gives new strength of character. Those seeking relaxation find in its far horizons and secluded canyons release from the world of man-made tensions. For those seeking beauty the desert offers nature's rarest artistry. This is the desert that has a deep and lasting fascination for men and women with a bit of poetry in their souls."

Texas Western College

C. L. Sonnichsen

*Great Surveys of the American West.* By Richard A. Bartlett. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962. Pp. xxiii, 408. Illustrations, index, bibliography. \$7.95.

There once was a widespread fallacy in the historical profession that doctoral dissertations are not sufficiently meritorious to warrant publication in book form. Richard Bartlett's study of the *Great Surveys* is another obvious refutation of that old assertion, for this book is a dressed up doctoral dissertation presented a few years back at the University of Colorado.

The study concerns what by today's vogue is called the history of science, but what by yesterday's standards was called exploration; but called by either name this is an outstanding contribution to the field of both Western American History and the History of the United States. The title of the book may not seem ideally applicable, but it derives from the common term used contemporaneously to identify four specific surveys which between 1867 and 1879 carried out extended geological and topographical investigations in the West from the Rocky Mountains to the Sierra Nevada. In this manner many of the left over areas of America were mapped, some of them being viewed for the first time by white

men, and most of them being "discovered" in the scientific sense of the term.

Bartlett treats successively the work of Dr. Ferdinand Vandeveer Hayden, Clarence King, John Wesley Powell, and George Montague Wheeler. A biographical sketch of each is followed by an inquiry into their activity.

Hayden was an ex-medic turned geologist. Optimistic, prolific in his publication, popularizer of the West, the chief areas of his interest were the Rocky Mountain regions of Wyoming and Colorado. His greatest contributions were his discoveries in the Yellowstone, and his reports on the Mount of the Holy Cross and the Cliff Dwellings of southwestern Colorado.

King explored eastward and westward along the 40th parallel in a prolonged series of field trips from 1867 to 1879. The youthful, highly educated, urbane leader and his operations were categorized as quite scientific, but in a practical sense quite useless. At a cost of \$600,000, the King Survey could at least claim credit for exploding the Great Diamond Hoax, one of the West's greatest frauds, occasioned by the salting of some diamonds into a remote location in north-western Colorado athwart the exploratory route of King and his men.

Powell, one-armed ex-school teacher, ex-soldier, was largely self-trained. Brilliant, energetic, forceful, he is best known for his daring descents of the turbulent Colorado river, feats that stirred the imagination and tested the very fiber of a handful of resolute adventurers. Powell also explored and mapped the areas of southern Utah and north-western Arizona. His influence brought about a congressional investigation of the Great Surveys, and the resulting consolidation was soon under the direction of this egocentric, ambitious, unconquerable explorer.

The United States Geographical Survey West of the One Hundredth Meridian was entrusted to West Pointer Wheeler. Dedicated to a desire to produce accurate topographical maps rather than geological representations, the young army lieu-



tenant explored extensively between 1871 and 1879. Thorough and wide ranging, the results lack luster because the work was left largely uncompleted as a result of the consolidation of the surveys.

Thirty three illustrations and several maps aid in an understanding of the scope, personalities and methods of the Great Surveys that had pushed back the frontiers of science in the American West.

University of New Mexico

DONALD C. CUTTER

*Narcissa Whitman: An Historical Biography.* By Opal Sweazea Allen. Portland, Ore.; Binfords and Mort, 1959. Two books. Pp. xxvi, 325. Bibliography, index, illustrations, end paper maps. \$3.50.

Interesting history is worthy of retelling and fresh points of view with respect to old themes should not be unwelcome. Whether they gain in appeal through fictionizing by way of conversations is very questionable. It is likely to result in excessive romanticizing, and, in the case of this novel, the romantic element in the Whitman marriage was over played. Actually the courtship of these missionaries was probably a postlude to the wedding bells.

To many the vivid description of the journey which took the newly-weds over the Pennsylvania canal and tramway system and by boat down the Ohio has more true color than the love theme. The account of experiences on the trail rings true and the element of hardship is not exaggerated.

Mrs. Allan sensed that Mrs. Whitman and Mrs. Spalding, though very proper women, understood the true status of the semi-morganatic relationship between fur traders and their Indian or half-breed mates. Unlike the hypercritical Reverend and Mrs. Herbert Beaver, they had an opportunity to learn about the facts of mountain life on the trail. Also given in good perspective were the austerity and frustrations in the lives of missionary wives. Although the crowding of the stations, particularly after the migrations had begun,

was evident, the reader might still remain unaware that the biggest trial of the pioneer woman was lack of privacy despite the big open spaces.

Whereas the internecine quarreling in the American Board mission to Oregon is not denied, it is played down somewhat. Spalding, probably very properly, is treated fairly and not unsympathetically, but the cantankerous William H. Gray and Asa Bowen Smith escaped too easily by being almost ignored.

Surprisingly, though not improperly, the two facets of the Whitman legend usually accented, the events leading to the massacre and the massacre itself, receive less space than ordinarily. Indian apprehensions about the size of the migrations and their panic over the epidemics are clearly presented. Not so the intensity of the Indian's concern with the blood-feud and the Indian's knowledge of the disastrous results of federal Indian removal during the 1830's and early 1840's. As has been true throughout history, irritations, whether local or broader in their implications, are likely to be attributed to agitation by outsiders, in this case Joe Lewis, and not to deep seated grievances. The post-massacre developments are concluded somewhat abruptly.

Readers might get wrong impressions about Fort Leavenworth being "outside the boundary of the United States" and the precise year Colter had the experiences in his "hell." More serious is calling Sacajawea the guide of the Lewis and Clark expedition. The bibliography shows more research than that which goes into many fictionized writings, yet certainly key items are missing. Clifford M. Drury's edition of the Spalding-Smith papers was published a year before this book. References to Catholic and Anglican sources are conspicuous by their absence.

The reading public will enjoy this work, but historians will regret that the project was not expanded into a comprehensive and definitive biography of a significant woman.

Washington State University

HERMAN J. DEUTSCH

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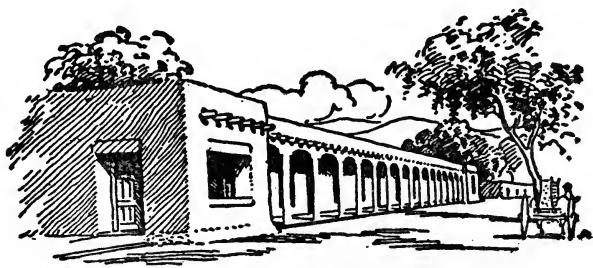
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VOL. XXXVIII	APRIL, 1963	No. 2
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## CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Fray Silvestre and the Obstinate Hopi	
Eleanor B. Adams . . . . .	97
The Benjamin Cooper Expeditions to Santa Fe in 1822 and 1823	
Kenneth L. Holmes . . . . .	139
Bradshaw Bonanza	
Patrick D. Henderson . . . . .	151
Indian Extinction in the Middle Santa Cruz River Valley, Arizona	
Henry F. Dobyns . . . . .	163
Book Reviews . . . . .	182
Errata . . . . .	183
Notes and Documents . . . . .	184

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Reproduction of a map in the Biblioteca Nacional México, legajo 10, no. 61, where it accompanies provisions made by Governor Juan Bautista de Anza for subduing the Hopi pueblos, 1780. The population figures show that it was based on reports made by Fray Silvestre Vélez de Escalante. Apparently it is the same as a map listed in Woodbury Lowery, *The Lowery Collection. A descriptive list of maps of the Spanish possessions within the present limits of the United States, 1502-1820* (Washington, D.C. 1912), no. 579, p. 377. Map of Moqui Province. Academia de la Historia, Madrid, Col. Boturini, tomo 25, accompanying "Informe y Diario de la entrada que en junio de 1775 hizo a la Provincia de Moqui el P. P. Silvestre Vélez Escalante, testimoniado por el Secretario de Provincia M. R. P. Fernando Antonio Gómez."



# NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

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## FRAY SILVESTRE AND THE OBSTINATE HOPI

By ELEANOR B. ADAMS\*

SOMETIME in 1774 a young Franciscan missionary arrived in New Mexico and in due course was assigned to the remote pueblo of Zuñi, described by his companion of a few months there, Fray Damián Martínez, as "the end of Christendom in this New World."<sup>1</sup> About six years later Fray Silvestre Vélez de Escalante left for Mexico City and died at Parral on the way. He was scarcely out of his twenties, but by then his place in history was secure. He was a *Montañés*, born in the old Villa of Treceño, Valle de Vandáliga, in the rainy green mountains of Santander, Spain, about 1750.<sup>2</sup> Why or when he came to New Spain we do not know, but once in a while he uses an expression reminiscent of his northern Spanish origin, and he may well have had some childhood recollections of the place of his birth. In 1767 he took the habit in the Convento Grande at Mexico City, headquarters of the Franciscan Province of the Holy Gospel, to which the New Mexican missions of the Custody of the Conversion of St. Paul were subordinate. Two years later he appears on a list of the students of philosophy. On October 6, 1772, he had progressed to the study of theology, but was still *an hermano*

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\* Research Associate in History, The University of New Mexico.

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1. Fray Damián Martínez to Don Hugo O'Connor, Zuñi, April 1, 1775, Archivo General de la Nación, México (cited hereinafter as AGN), Historia, vol. 52, exp. 9.

2. Museo Nacional, México (cited hereinafter as MN), Asuntos, vol. 165.

*corista*, a term specifically used for the brothers serving in the choir from the time of their profession until their ordination as priests.<sup>3</sup> Presumably he was ordained within the following years and sent to New Mexico not long after.

His first signatures in the surviving parish books of colonial New Mexico are at Laguna, where he performed two baptisms on December 21, 1774, and another on New Year's Day, 1775. By January 13 he had taken up his duties at Zuñi, for the books show that he performed eight marriages and one burial there between that date and the first of May.<sup>4</sup>

Unlike most of the mission pueblos of New Mexico, in which a single resident friar usually had to suffice for lack of personnel, Zuñi, whenever possible, was given two because of its isolated situation. For a time Father Vélez de Escalante enjoyed the company of Father Damián Martínez, sometimes called Martín, although it is not clear whether the latter was already there when Fray Silvestre arrived in January, 1775. In any case he did not stay long. Fray Damián was in poor health, and on August 18 his companion wrote that he had returned to El Paso, "and by the date of this letter he must be at least as far as Chihuahua on his way to the Province." Another letter dated November 7 indicates that Father Damián's condition had improved, for word had come that he was still in El Paso and serving as minister there. Meanwhile, Fray Silvestre, in none too good health himself, praised Zuñi as the best pueblo in the kingdom and found its peace and quiet to his liking, but he was not resigned to living like "a solitary anchorite" and begged his superiors to send another friar to join him. He did not get his wish until late in April, 1776, when Fray Mariano Rosete came as his assistant.<sup>5</sup> By that time Vélez de Escalante was engrossed in wider problems than the tranquil administration of the Zuñi mission.

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3. *Ibid.*

4. Data kindly supplied by Fray Angélico Chávez, O.F.M. Fr. Chávez adds that Vélez de Escalante finished the Marriage and Burial Books of Zuñi mentioned. The following ones and the Book of Baptisms for this period are missing.

5. E. B. Adams and Fray Angélico Chávez, *The Missions of New Mexico, 1776* (Albuquerque, 1956), pp. 281, 302; Biblioteca Nacional, México (cited hereinafter as BNM), legajo 10, no. 19.

Father Vélez de Escalante's fame rests chiefly on his explorations into Utah in 1776 with his superior, Fray Francisco Atanasio Domínguez, in search of a land route from New Mexico to the new California establishment at Monterey. The story of the Domínguez—Vélez de Escalante expedition has been told in abundant detail and will be mentioned here only in passing.<sup>6</sup> This journey and most of Fray Silvestre's other activities and writings during the few years he served in the Franciscan Custody of New Mexico were the result of a far-reaching effort to expand and consolidate the northern borderlands of New Spain, a major preoccupation of the Spanish authorities since the 1760's.

As the years of the eighteenth century passed, the depredations of the hostile infidel tribes in the ill-garrisoned and sparsely settled northern provinces had become an ever-increasing menace to their security. Local and large-scale campaigns to chasten them had achieved no lasting success. Meanwhile foreign threats to Spanish claims of sovereignty developed from British expansion on the east and the arrival of the Russians in Alaska and their sealing expeditions along the Northwest coast. Spanish settlement in Upper California brought new problems and made the solution of the old ones even more urgent. The discovery of practicable land routes between the frontier provinces and to the new establishments in California seemed indispensable from many points of view. The California settlements needed a dependable supply system to ensure their continued existence. Wider opportunities for trade would foster the stability and prosperity of the older provinces. Missionary fervor envisioned the spread of the Gospel to countless heathens, or as Fray Francisco Garcés put it: "I praise God because it seems that in our times that ancient Spanish enthusiasm for discovering and taking possession of new lands lives again, sacrificing lives and fortunes in this enterprise for the gain of such precious pearls as

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6. See H. E. Bolton, *Pageant in the Wilderness* (*Utah Historical Quarterly*, vol. XVIII, 1950). Other manuscript and published versions of the diary of this expedition and related papers will be listed in a bibliography of Vélez de Escalante's writings to appear in a future issue of the NMHR.

souls.”<sup>7</sup> A great deal depended upon the efficiency of the military organization in dealing with the refractory tribes and upon the strategic location of presidios, for once discovered, the new routes would fail of their purpose if they could not be made comparatively safe.

To further this enormous undertaking the governing authorities enlisted the aid of all who might have, or be in a position to acquire, any knowledge of the mysterious regions beyond New Mexico and Sonora to the Pacific coast. At the request of the Viceroy, the Mother Province of the Holy Gospel directed her sons in New Mexico to seek out and send in whatever information they might deem helpful, and issued specific instructions to individual friars thought particularly well equipped to gather useful data. When an opportunity arose, the military leaders often sought the assistance of the religious, and in 1774 Commandant Inspector Don Hugo O’Conor, learning that Fray Damián Martínez had been assigned to Zuñi, asked him to employ “every means his intelligence and prudence might dictate in an endeavor to learn the truth” of “the flying reports I have picked up on this frontier about the existence of a settlement of Europeans on the opposite bank of the river named Tizón [the Colorado], which is to the northwest of New Mexico.”<sup>8</sup>

Like so many other fabulous rumors current in the Americas from earliest times, this odd tale had no basis in fact. The most satisfactory explanation of its origin is a theory proposed by Domínguez and Vélez de Escalante a couple of years later: “Without any great doubt these people are the Yutas Barbones [bearded Utes] of whom the Reverend Father Custos and I spoke in the diary of the journey we made through those lands in the year 1776.”<sup>9</sup> Don Bernardo Miera

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7. E. Coues, *On the trail of a Spanish pioneer*, 2 vols. (New York, 1900), vol. 2, p. 499n.

8. Don Hugo O’Conor to Viceroy Bucareli, San Fernando del Carrizal, August 9, 1776. AGM, Historia, vol. 52, exp. 9.

9. Vélez de Escalante to Fray Juan Agustín Morfi, Santa Fe, April 2, 1778, various manuscript and published copies. See note 6, *supra*. The Domínguez-Vélez de Escalante diary says: “In features they look more like Spaniards than like the other Indians hitherto known in America, from whom they are different in the foregoing respects. . . . It is they, perhaps, who gave rise to the report of the Spaniards that live on the other side of the Río del Tizón

y Pacheco, who accompanied the friars, had been sufficiently impressed by the novelty of heavily bearded Indians to feature them as a decoration of his map of the expedition. Fray Silvestre was always less gullible than many of his contemporaries, and the report, however unsubstantial, was taken seriously enough to occasion the waste of a good deal of speculation, paper, and ink, and to justify a digression here to relate Fray Damián's contribution. Incidentally, this also sheds some light on Fray Silvestre's life during his early days at Zuñi.

On April 1, 1775, Martínez wrote to O'Connor apologizing for not communicating with him sooner: "My poor health as a result of this exceedingly frigid climate and the lack of food suited to my constitution, the necessary care in ministering to so rude a population, the roads made impassable by risks [of attack by enemy Indians] and snowfalls, the catechizing of some pagan Navahos, whose reduction it was God's will we should attain, were powerful reasons for the delay in fulfilling my promise." Obviously he was far from sharing his companion's good opinion of Zuñi. He summarized his findings about the supposed European settlement as follows:

First, the account of a Navajo Indian who, after being baptized and acquiring some facility in our language, returned to his people. On one of the forays he made with them they travelled between north and west (he puts it thus) as far as the river called El Tizón, on the shore of which he found a white man on horseback with clothing and armament of the type we use. He spoke to him in Castilian and in his Navajo language, and he says that the man did not reply but only smiled to himself when he used our language. This Indian and his companions observed among the groves on the opposite bank of the river a number of smokes, as if from chimneys, and some plantings. Because the river is very wide they did not make out the kinds of trees and crops. They waited a while to observe the ford and the route which the white man was taking, but the said man remained motionless on this side until, tired of waiting, they

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which according to several coinciding reports is the Río Grande, formed from the Río de los Dolores and others and which joins the Navajó." Bolton, *Pageant*, pp. 189-190. [This Río Grande is the present day San Juan, F. D. R.]

turned back. This Indian returned to us and lives in Belén in Bernabé Montaña's house. He is considered truthful, and on all the occasions he has told the story he has not varied a word.

But in my opinion the most authoritative account in this regard is that of the pagan Yutas, whose veracity and constant friendship with us is sufficiently proved. They agree with the foregoing relation and promise to guide the Spaniards to find, or rather to take them to the lands bordering on these people, asserting that there is no obstacle to our passage nor any other tribes except Moachis and Paiuchis, who belong to their own nation and are therefore our friends, although they have no communication with us because they live in the interior. They say that the trip takes twenty days. This extremely important discovery has not always been looked upon with indifference, but I believe that means adequate to so noble a design have not heretofore been applied. I am aware of some measures taken during the administrations of previous governors, but the individuals to whom they were entrusted have been some poor settlers who are incapable of raising their thoughts very high or appreciating the importance of the matter in the service of both Majesties [God and the King]. These unhappy wretches have been content to reach the Yutas and bring back four pelts in exchange for trifles, and to find pretexts at their fancy to excuse their evil doing. No one can comprehend the importance of this discovery as well as your Lordship; no one with more knowledge or experience acquired at the cost of so many risks and hardships, no one with greater zeal. Let your Lordship weigh my arguments, and if they deserve some attention I will try in another letter, if you like, to express in more detail at length all I think conducive to said purpose.<sup>10</sup>

Fray Silvestre was more skeptical. Over a year later, on July 29, 1776, he wrote to his Provincial that "although there is some information about the country the Yutas occupy as far as the Río del Tizón and about the tribes who are on the other bank of this river, it is not all credible, for long experience has shown that not only the infidel Indians, but even the

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10. AGM, Historia, vol. 52, exp. 9. Fray José Damián Martínez was an Andalusian who took the habit in the Mexican Province of the Holy Gospel during the 1760's; the dates in MN, Asuntos 165 are inconsistent. He remained in El Paso at least until 1779, where he served as Vice-Custos. BNM, leg. 10, no. 47. In 1792 he was guardian of the Convento Grande de México and described as *ex-lector de filosofía*. AGM, Historia, vol. 25. He seldom used his first name, José.

Christians, in order to raise themselves in our esteem, tell us what they know we want to hear, without being embarrassed by the falsity of their tales."<sup>11</sup> Meanwhile the Commandant Inspector was assuring the Viceroy that Father Damián's report seemed to confirm the existence of the European settlement, and proposing to make an expedition in search of it in May of the following year. Bucareli replied a month later approving O'Connor's zealous conduct, but indicating some reservations about the value of Father Damián's information and the need for clarification before taking any action based on it. On the other hand, he was misguided enough to give serious consideration to the possibility of reaching Monterey from Santa Fe in a matter of twenty days, and to suggest that the white man seen by the Indians could belong to the California presidio.<sup>12</sup>

Father Vélez de Escalante's writings often show his irritation at the all too prevalent tendency to jump to premature conclusions on the part of officers and administrators whose experience should have taught them to be more cautious. He deeply resented the consequent misinterpretation of his own reports and opinions, by Governor Pedro Fermín de Mendieta and others, and on occasion tried in vain to point out that he had done and said nothing to justify the optimistic predictions of easy solutions attributed to him. If he was ever the rather naïve dreamer of the Escalante legend, his experiences at the Hopi pueblos in late June and early July, 1775, gave him a rude shock which brought him to his senses in short order.

Fray Silvestre was one of those who had received special instructions from his superiors to assist in the discovery of a route to Monterey. The order came to him through the secretary of the Province of the Holy Gospel, Fray Fernando Antonio Gómez, who also forwarded the relevant information at his disposal. Vélez de Escalante's first reports, some of which have not been found, were therefore addressed to Father

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11. Adams and Chávez, *Missions*, p. 307.

12. AGM, *Historia*, vol. 52, exp. 9.

Gómez, and this resulted in a rather distressing misunderstanding with the Provincial, Fray Isidro Murillo. He also corresponded on the subject, and perhaps discussed it, with Don Diego Borica, then first lieutenant of the presidio at Santa Fe, whom Governor Mendinueta appointed as his lieutenant general in 1775.<sup>13</sup>

During Lent, 1775, a number of Hopi Indians came to Zuñi to trade. Fray Silvestre made every effort to win their friendship, and some of them invited him to visit them. He was more than happy to accept for several reasons. In spite of repeated attempts during and after the Reconquest, the Spaniards had not succeeded in reconverting the apostate Hopi and various dissident groups and individuals from the Río Grande pueblos who had taken refuge there since the great Revolt of 1680, except for a number who had been resettled in New Mexico, mostly at Sandia. Like many a friar before him, young Vélez de Escalante was encouraged to hope that he might be the one to persuade them to submit at last to the authority of Church and Crown. The invitation also opened up the possibility of going on to preach the Gospel to the Cosnina (Havasupai) Indians, and perhaps obtaining some definite information about the Colorado River tribes and the purported Spanish or European settlement on the far side. The Vice-Custos, probably Fray Mariano Rodríguez de la Torre, one of the friars who had visited the Hopi province in years past, gave him permission to go. He decided to do so accompanied only by a guide and an interpreter. However, Don Juan Pedro Cisneros, alcalde mayor of Zuñi, and the Indians of the pueblo insisted that the Hopi were not to be trusted, and the friar was obliged to accept an escort consisting of the alcalde, a Hopi convert from Sandia to act as interpreter, and seventeen Zuñi Indians. It is quite likely that they were glad enough of the opportunity to do a little trading.

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13. Adams and Chávez, *Missions*, pp. 305-306; AGM, *Provincias Internas*, vol. 103. Like Fray Silvestre, Fray Fernando Antonio Gómez was a *Montañés*, and he was guardian of the Convento Grande and *lector de prima* of theology when Vélez de Escalante was completing his studies; these could be additional reasons why the latter corresponded with him rather than with the Andalusian Provincial Murillo. MN, *Asuntos*, vol. 165.



The party set out from Zuñi on June 22, 1775, and reached Walpi, where they were well received, on the morning of the twenty-fifth. The father had planned to hasten on to Oraibi, the largest and most important of the Hopi pueblos, and begin his efforts to win them back to the Faith there, but the amiable inhabitants of Walpi persuaded him to stay with them another day. He undoubtedly needed the rest, for he was suffering from a bothersome chronic ailment which travelling must have aggravated. While he was there many Indians came to see and talk to him in friendly fashion. One came especially to tell him that the Navahos were planning to ambush the party when it started back for Zuñi. Fray Silvestre's calm reply to the effect that God was quite capable of protecting his servants, whatever the odds, effectively silenced the astonished Indian, who was inclined to feel that his warning was not appreciated.

On June 27 he went on to Oraibi with the alcalde, three Zuñi, and the interpreter. His reception there was cold to the point of hostility. The Indians did not come near him, and the cacique managed to avoid meeting him at all. His attempt to preach to the ruling clique met with outright scorn, and the chief captain told him "not to weary myself in going about giving advice to his people, for none would give ear to me because he had already given orders to this effect and they must perforce obey him." Fray Silvestre's discouragement was in proportion to his earlier high hopes, but he was determined enough to make an earnest effort to reach the hearts and minds of the common people. In general he found them indifferent, stubborn, or at best, too intimidated by their leaders to follow any inclination they might have to succumb to his influence. Among the last group was the interpreter's uncle, who was one of the few who dared to treat the friar with friendliness. He and another Indian who had visited the Cosninas were willing and able to answer the father's questions on this subject, but not to make any satisfactory response to his religious exhortations.

The word had already gone out before he reached Shon-

gopovi, Mishongnovi, and Shipaulovi. The Indians were polite, but uncompromising in their determination to abide by the decision of Oraibi. He found the same situation at Walpi when he returned there on the thirtieth. Again he tried his luck with the common people, but "I found, as in the other pueblos, some rebellious and others intimidated, although the malicious faction is everywhere larger and more numerous."

Here the Zuñi joined the Hopi in an unsuccessful attempt to frustrate his desire to get in touch with the Cosninas, and perhaps go on to their land. The news of his arrival in the Hopi province quickly reached the nearest Cosnina ranchería, and a delegation immediately started for Oraibi to see him. The Oraibis turned them back, telling them that the father had already left. Nevertheless the Cosninas decided to send a petty captain to overtake him if possible, and this man was at Walpi when Fray Silvestre arrived for the second time. The Zuñi were not on good terms with the Cosninas and had no desire to visit them. Fearing that the friar might expect them to accompany him, they made a desperate effort to prevent the Cosnina from reaching him. The alcalde realized that something underhand was going on, and owing to his intervention Fray Silvestre did not lose the opportunity to have the traditional smoke and make friends with the Cosnina, and to acquire more information and a crude map, which the Indian drew for him on the sudadero of a saddle.

On July 2 his cup of bitterness overflowed. He had taken some forethought to avoid countenancing with his presence "the idolatrous abominations associated with their most solemn dances," but that afternoon, going out to learn the reason for a disturbance in the street, he was suddenly exposed to a "horrifying spectacle" that "saddened me so that I arranged my departure for the following day." It is unlikely that this had anything to do with his presence in the pueblo. He probably had the misfortune to time his visit to coincide with one of the regular summer ceremonials.

Fray Silvestre was not long out of the cloister and new to the mission field. His experiences in the Hopi pueblos were

clearly a profound shock, and the fact that he was in acute physical pain much of the time must have added to his emotional distress. From then on, although the eager young missionary lost none of his sincere evangelical fervor, his faith in the efficacy of conversion by gentle persuasion alone was seriously undermined. In the case of the apostate Hopi, at least, he was convinced that military conquest was the only way to set their feet on the road to the light. Ironically enough, the friar's conviction that a show of force was justified, advisable, and legal was not at that time shared by the civil and military authorities, who even used his reports of his journey to support recommendations that more friars be assigned to complete the reconversion of the Hopi. Vélez de Escalante was probably right in feeling that long experience had demonstrated the futility of preaching to them, but he may well have under-estimated the obstacles to an all out campaign to subject them. In comparison to the urgent demands upon their services, the military forces on the frontier were inadequate in numbers and equipment. Moreover, the Hopi, like some of the Navaho, were by now adept at a little game of blowing hot and cold with the Spaniards as circumstances dictated. When drought, famine, or active hostilities by their enemies pressed them hard, they would make overtures to the Spanish authorities and religious, leading them to believe that they were on the point of returning to the fold. Then they would prolong the negotiations until the crisis was past, whereupon they returned to their usual intransigent attitude. Their real desire seems to have been to remain on mildly friendly terms with the Spaniards and enjoy the advantages of their trade and protection, but only so long as this could be managed without political or religious ties. The isolation of the province and Spanish preoccupation with keeping more belligerent tribes in check were in their favor, of course. There could be no meeting of minds, and in the long run the Hopi strategy succeeded. From 1680 to the end of the colonial period the Spaniards never achieved any lasting results in their intermittent attempts to reduce them by persuasion or by force.

When Vélez de Escalante and his party left Walpi on July 3, the captain of the pueblo insisted upon sending forty armed men to make sure that the Navaho who had threatened to ambush them were not lurking in the vicinity. Perhaps for this reason they took a different route on the return journey. On the way they passed the ruined mission of Awatovi and saw the peach trees planted by the friars there many years before.<sup>14</sup> After a hot and tiring, but uneventful trip, they reached Zuñi safely on the morning of July 6.

The father's first report of his Hopi adventure is a short statement in a letter to Fray Fernando Antonio Gómez, dated August 18, 1775.<sup>15</sup> It is mentioned only as an introduction to some observations based upon what he had learned there about the Cosninas and their neighbors and the most feasible way of reaching Monterey. Copies of this letter went to the Viceroy, who forwarded it to Fray Francisco Garcés at the Río Colorado. Garcés had already gone upriver and did not receive it until a month after he got back to his mission of San Xavier del Bac, or in mid-October, 1776.<sup>16</sup>

It was not until nearly four months after his return to Zuñi that Vélez de Escalante submitted a fuller account of his journey to the Hopi pueblos. In 1774 Don Francisco Antonio Crespo, governor of Sonora, had written to Viceroy Bucareli proposing a plan for a full-scale military operation to back up the California enterprise. Among the objectives were the conquest of the Hopi and opening a road between New Mexico and Sonora. On August 2, 1775, Bucareli sent a copy of Crespo's proposals to the governor of New Mexico, Pedro Fermín de Mendinueta, for his opinion. Because of Vélez de Escalante's special knowledge of the subject, the governor sent him a copy of the viceroy's order and required

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14. The Awatovi mission has been the subject of intensive research. See R. G. Montgomery, W. Smith, and J. O. Brew, *Franciscan Awatovi (Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, vol. XXXVI, Cambridge, Mass., 1949)*.

15. Adams and Chávez, *Missions*, pp. 302-304.

16. Coues, *On the trail*, vol. 2, pp. 468-475.

him to make a full report at once.<sup>17</sup> Father Silvestre got permission to do so from his Vice-Custos, but could not submit his reply to him for correction because of the urgency of the governor's request. He was not even given time to revise it to his satisfaction. This report is the well-known letter to Mendinueta of October 28, 1775, sometimes referred to as Escalante's Hopi diary. He made at least one copy of it himself to send to Father Gómez in a letter of November 7, and there are a number of others in existence. It was widely circulated and used (or misused in Fray Silvestre's opinion) for some years because of its interest to those formulating frontier policy.<sup>18</sup>

On November 9, 1775, the governor sent his own report to Don Hugo O'Connor. After summarizing Fray Silvestre's description of the Hopi province and describing his informant as a "religious of exemplary life and unusual talent," he continued as follows:

To wish to reduce them to the Catholic religion by force would have the serious drawback that the Yutas and Navajos (the latter are right now on the point of concluding a peace with us, hostilities having already ceased) would fear that the same might be done to them, because from their point of view we should be unjustly declaring war on Indians who were living at peace with us and were giving no cause for complaint. It could be feared that the consequences would be disastrous, for if these three tribes reached the point of making an alliance, they would very soon finish off this kingdom, and they could keep us as busy as the Apaches Gileños do now. My feeling is that three or four missionaries, known and chosen for their ability and truly apostolic zeal, should immediately be assigned there, giving them, in addition to their royal allowance, some goods of small value to present to the chieftains, who (as sons of their own interests) would permit them to teach the mysteries of our religion.<sup>19</sup>

17. H. E. Bolton, *Anza's California expeditions*, vol. V, *Correspondence* (Berkeley, 1930), pp. 238-248 and *passim*; AGM, *Provincias Internas*, vol. 169, exp. 6.

18. A new translation of this letter and bibliographical data will appear in a future issue of the NMHR.

19. AGM, *Provincias Internas*, vol. 169, exp. 6.

These were some of the very arguments which Vélez de Escalante had tried, at much greater length, to refute in his report to the governor. Whatever the rights of the matter in regard to general policy, the governor was mistaken in thinking that gifts would win the Hopi leaders. They made no secret of their scorn for such petty attempts to gain their favor and refused them haughtily. If any misguided inferior did take a gift from the Spaniards he was made to return it. This had happened before and it was to happen again, and each time Spaniards or friars bearing gifts served only to strengthen their suspicious attitude. No wonder then that Father Silvestre was incensed and later used strong language in his protest to his superiors:

And as a result of ill-founded fear of unusual difficulties, the very reflections I impugn in the aforesaid paper were represented to his Excellency, showing great ignorance of how much our missionary brethren have labored to reduce those rebels. It is falsely stated that they are docile people ready for reduction by those who might wish to undertake it, and that they will be more easily subdued by gentle methods than by subjecting them first. . . . God indeed knows that my only purpose is that His Majesty be better served and worshipped where he is insulted and outraged. There is no need for me to represent to your Paternity how important any possible activity in this matter is to the greater glory of God, benefit of so many poor wretches, and honor of our teaching. . . .<sup>20</sup>

It was not until April 30, 1776, that Vélez de Escalante sent a copy of the journal he had kept during his visit to the Hopi pueblos to Provincial Fray Isidro Murillo, with a covering letter indicating that he had been reluctant to do so until ordered because of his mortification at his failure. A complete translation of this interesting document will be found at the end of this article. Probably Fray Francisco Antanasio Domínguez, who had arrived in Santa Fe on March 22 to make

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20. Adams and Chávez, *Missions*, p. 306. Don Bernardo Miera y Pacheco, the cartographer of the Utah expedition, was one who agreed with Vélez de Escalante about using force to subdue the Hopi. Bolton, *Pageant*, p. 246.

a visitation of the New Mexico missions, brought Murillo's order.

Father Domínguez had also received special instructions to work on the problem of the route to Monterey. At his summons Father Vélez de Escalante joined him in Santa Fe on June 7, and they made definite plans for an exploring expedition in that direction. Their departure was delayed for various reasons. On June 20 the Comanches raided La Ciénega, killing ten people, and Fray Silvestre went as chaplain with the scouting expedition sent out to pursue them. Ten days of this and three days' rest and he was off to Taos to attend to some urgent business there for Father Domínguez, who was fully occupied elsewhere. In November he had told Father Gómez that his urinary trouble had improved, but in Taos he was seized with an acute pain in his side which temporarily incapacitated him. By the time his superior arrived he was on the way to recovery, but still weak. Domínguez ordered him to rest for a week before returning to Santa Fe.<sup>21</sup>

In July an event of considerable importance occurred. Word came that the remarkable Franciscan explorer, Fray Francisco Garcés, had reached Oraibi from the west on July 2. The Hopi would have nothing to do with him, but there were a few Zuñi, and at least one Acoma Indian in the pueblo, one of whom spoke to him in Spanish, telling him about the priest at Zuñi and inviting him to accompany them there the next day. Although he thought of doing so, in the end he felt obliged to refuse the invitation, as we shall see. Meanwhile his guides busied themselves about their own affairs at Oraibi. Apparently they had brought mescal to trade. Yet the Hopi would neither take the father's offerings of tobacco and seashells, valuable items there, as gifts, nor in exchange for a little maize, which he badly needed for himself and for his mount. They were even unwilling to give him shelter, and he spent his two nights at Oraibi huddled in a corner of the street, where he gathered a few of the cornstalks lying about to build a little fire to heat his atole. The first night was filled

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21. Adams and Chávez, *Missions*, *passim*.

with the eerie sounds of singing, flutes, and high-pitched harangues from the rooftops. Like Fray Silvestre the year before, he had arrived at the time of a ceremonial. At day-break on July 4 the dancers swarmed into the street to the sound of drums and flutes, and a tall chief accosted the friar: "For what hast thou come here? Get thee gone without delay—back to thy land!" He was not so shocked by the spectacle as the young friar from New Mexico. After all, he had had much more experience with "wild Indians." But in his diary he makes no secret of his fear. He was ready to leave, and since his Yabipai, or Cosnina, guides had refused to go to Zuñi and he dared not risk losing their services when he could not be sure what lay ahead, he turned back in the direction from which he had come. But he did send a letter to the priest at Zuñi which was to cause considerable excitement when it arrived.<sup>22</sup> The whereabouts of Father Garcés had been a matter of concern to the authorities in Mexico City and on the northern frontier for some time, and news of him was very welcome. More than that, he had, in effect, broken a trail from the Pacific coast to New Mexico.

Nevertheless Fathers Domínguez and Vélez de Escalante believed that the journey they planned to make by a more northerly route would still be useful. They left Santa Fe on July 29, and returned to Zuñi on the twenty-fourth of the following November.

On the way home they had reached Oraibi on November 16, in very bad weather. A crowd of Indians tried to prevent them from entering the pueblo, but Juan Pedro Cisneros, the alcalde who had accompanied Fray Silvestre before, persuaded them to provide lodging for the night and sell them provisions. This time the cacique visited the friars. They had no interpreter, but they managed some communication, with the result that the cacique sent word to the other pueblos to "lodge us, listen to us, and sell us provisions, cultivating our

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22. Coues, *On the trail*, vol. 2, pp. 357-391; Adams and Chávez, *Missions*, pp. 281-285. Garcés did not realize that there was at least one Acoma Indian with the Zuñis, and it was he who took the friar's letter to Zuñi. Garcés used the term Yabipai in a rather broad sense, and here the reference is certainly to Vélez de Escalante's Cosninas.



friendship without treating of or admitting any other subject, since they wished to be our friends but not Christians." At Xongopovi they were well treated by the Indians of this pueblo, Shipaulovi, and Mishongnovi, but when they made the mistake of trying to show their gratitude to their host by giving him a cloak for his wife, the gift was thrown back in their faces. Their attempts to explain their disinterested motives ended in confusion, but somehow the episode was smoothed over although the cloak was still refused.

At Walpi they learned that the Hopi were at war with the Navaho, who had killed and captured many. So their informant, one Pedro, a Tano apostate from Galisteo, said that they had been "hoping that some fathers or Spaniards would come to these pueblos in order through them to beg from the Spanish governor some aid or defense against these enemies." Pedro offered to accompany the friars to Santa Fe to arrange for the Hopi and the Tano established in their province to make an alliance with the Spaniards. The fathers could not help but hope that this was an opportune time to bring about the long-desired reduction of the apostate province. Still, they were cautious. They told Pedro that they would be happy to take him, but that it was necessary for someone in authority to be sent from each of the pueblos. On November 19 the caciques and chiefs met on the Walpi mesa in a kiva of the Tano pueblo there. Antonio el Cuate, an apostate from Santa Clara, acted as interpreter. The friars told them that their troubles would not cease until they obeyed God's will and embraced Christianity. Once they did so, they, like the Christian pueblos of New Mexico, would enjoy the assistance of the Spaniards against all their heathen enemies. But in any case the fathers were willing to do all they could to help them. The discussion continued for a long time, but in the end the Indians stuck to their old arguments:

. . . they knew the governors were sending the fathers to persuade them to submit to their authority but that they had not and still did not wish to. . . . They gave us to understand

that, since there were many more heathen nations than Christian, they wanted to follow the more numerous party, and that besides this, they lived in a country which was very inconvenient for the service which, once converted, they would have to render the Spaniards. . . .

. . . they related the traditions of their ancestors and exhorted that they be observed, concluding that it was better for them to suffer their present troubles and calamities than to violate these traditions. So they replied that they wished only our friendship but by no means to become Christians, because the old men had told them and counseled them never to subject themselves to the Spaniards.

Moreover, they refused to allow Pedro to go to Santa Fe, lest the governor prevent him from returning. On November 20, then, Father Vélez de Escalante left the Hopi province for the last time, "realizing that the obstinacy of these unhappy Indians was invincible."<sup>23</sup>

Monday, November 25, the day after their arrival at Zuñi, the friars composed a letter to the governor: "Because our great weariness after such long hard travel and the excessively cold weather do not permit us to go on to that Villa as soon as we should like, we are sending your Lordship beforehand an epitome of the most important happenings of our journey until such time as we shall be able to give you a full report of everything." An almost identical letter of the same date was addressed to Provincial Murillo under Domínguez' signature alone.<sup>24</sup>

For various reasons they lingered at Zuñi until December 13, when they set out for Santa Fe, taking with them the Laguna Indian they had brought back from Utah and a token from his people. They reached Acoma on the sixteenth, and there a storm kept them snowbound for four days. They left the "Sky City" on the twentieth, and, after several stops on the way, spending Christmas at Isleta, they finally reached Santa Fe on January 2, 1777. On January 3 they presented their journal of the expedition to the governor.<sup>25</sup>

23. Bolton, *Pageant*, pp. 232-238.

24. AGM, *Historia*, vol. 52, exp. 9; Adams and Chávez, *Missions*, pp. 286-289.

25. Bolton, *Pageant*, pp. 238-239.

Not long after Father Vélez de Escalante went to Santa Ana for a short time. Fray Manuel de Abadiano, the missionary there, died in early January after a long illness, and Fray Silvestre noted the fact when he recorded two baptisms there on January 19.<sup>26</sup>

From our point of view, his most important activity during 1777 and 1778 was the gathering of further information about geography and history. In June, 1776, Father Domínguez, replying to a letter from Provincial Murillo, made the following statement: "Even before Father Morfi wrote to the Lord governor so that he would give Father Vélez Escalante access to his archive, I had already undertaken the necessary preliminaries to seeing and examining it. And although the lord governor has replied to him (and also to me) that it contains nothing but old fragments and that he will find all he needs for his purpose in the captaincy general, nevertheless it will be examined and your Very Reverend Paternity will be notified of what is found."<sup>27</sup> There can have been no time to do much, if anything, about this project then, but Vélez de Escalante worked on it whenever more urgent business allowed during 1777 and 1778. On April 2, 1778, he sent a preliminary report to Fray Juan Agustín Morfi, saying:

Because of the obligatory occupations of my office [of Vice-Custos], which I have already renounced twice, but in vain, and because of the journey I made to El Paso this winter, I have been unable to read and summarize more of the manuscripts in the archive of this government than those beginning with the year 1680 (there are no older papers here), when this kingdom was lost, up to the year 1692, when Don Diego de Vargas began its recovery. I hope to be free in next May or June to examine the remaining documents. All I may find useful I will send in one batch wherever your Reverence may order me. And although I do not have the necessary leisure now, this epitome of the information taken from the papers . . . [seen so far] goes in order that your Reverence may see that these delays are

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26. Fray Angélico Chávez, *Archives of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe, 1678-1900* (Publications of the Academy of American Franciscan History, Bibliographical Series, vol. 3, Washington, D. C., 1957), p. 210.

27. Adams and Chávez, *Missions*, p. 280.

not mere excuses, but that I sincerely desire to accomodate you.<sup>28</sup>

The extant versions of the notes Fray Silvestre made for Father Morfi carry the story up to about 1717, and probably this was as much as he was able to finish. Morfi used some of the information in his own writings, and an incomplete copy of Vélez de Escalante's notes, usually known as the *Extracto de Noticias*, was first published in 1856 and remained a major source for New Mexico history until comparatively recent times.<sup>29</sup>

The scattered information we have about Vélez de Escalante's other activities during 1777-1779 indicate that he was as busy as he claimed. On May 5, 1777, Father Domínguez, who had received notification of his election as Custos, left for El Paso to make his visitation there. He appointed Fray Silvestre, who was then at San Ildefonso, Vice-Custos to take charge of the missions of New Mexico proper. "He is the only person who can carry out my just plans and decisions," said Fray Francisco Atanasio.<sup>30</sup> Vélez de Escalante's entries in the baptismal books of San Ildefonso are dated May-September, 1777.<sup>31</sup> On August 17, 1777, at San Ildefonso, he issued a patent as Vice-Custos "announcing his visitation of the northern missions in the name of Father Domínguez, Provincial Visitor recently made Custos, who had to go to the El Paso missions; apologizes for his youth; outlines very important matters to be investigated and corrected; writes a fine discourse on Ch. XI of the Franciscan rule."<sup>32</sup>

He probably made the trip to El Paso mentioned in his letter to Father Morfi with the cordon that annually went to El Paso and on to Chihuahua to trade in November, returning

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28. See note 9, *supra*.

29. In *Documentos para la historia de México*, Tercera sér., tomo 1 (México, 1856), from a copy in AGN, Historia 2. There is a more complete version in BNM, which I am preparing for publication.

30. Adams and Chávez, *Missions*, p. 294.

31. Chávez, *Archives*, p. 257.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 164.

to New Mexico in February or March. In 1778 it returned earlier than usual, in late January. Probably he had been summoned by Father Domínguez to discuss the serious problems encountered in the lax administration of the missions. There were also some difficulties with the governor concerning the certification of newly-arrived friars in order that they might receive their full stipends.

In October, 1778, Domínguez mentions that "Fray Silvestre served the King by spending some time in searching the government archive, and although Lord [Governor] Mendieta wanted to certify to this, the father did not permit it because of the rumors that many of the religious were already spreading about."<sup>33</sup> Father Domínguez uncompromising determination to correct faults wherever he found them had made him unpopular with many of his less energetic brethren, and his good friend and companion, Fray Silvestre, probably shared the consequences.

Our next reference to Vélez de Escalante is at Santa Fe, December 12, 1778, when he baptized a two-year old Apache girl taken in battle. Then, on February 15, 1779, he performed a marriage at the Chapel of Our Lady of Light, the military chapel or Castrense, with the permission of the chaplain.<sup>34</sup> And in 1779, according to a list of friars and where they were serving drawn up to submit to the authorities for payment of the royal allowance, we find Fray Silvestre Vélez again assigned to Zuñi, with Fray José Carral as assistant.<sup>35</sup> If he actually returned there, it cannot have been for long. His uncertain health was failing fast, and a year or two later Father Morfi wrote his epitaph:

Father Fray Silvestre Vélez Escalante, a friar, despite his youth, among the most meritorious of the Custody because of his talent, his erudition, his hard labors, and above all because of his virtues, which led him to sacrifice his hopes, health, and

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33. Adams and Chávez, *Missions*, pp. 300-301.

34. Details supplied by Fray Angélico Chávez.

35. BNM, leg. 10, no. 56.

life for the conversion of those souls, for, going back to the Province [of the Holy Gospel, i.e., to Mexico City] to recover his health, he died at Parral in April, 1780.<sup>36</sup>

#### DIARY

*Fray Silvestre Vélez de Escalante to Provincial Fray Isidro Murillo, Zuñi, April 30, 1776, with a literal copy of the diary he kept during his journey to the Hopi pueblos in 1775.*<sup>1</sup>

Very Reverend Father Minister Provincial Fray Isidro Murillo. Our venerated and most beloved father:

The constant affliction of my chronic ailment and certain unavoidable occupations have not until now permitted me to give your Paternity a more illuminating and detailed report of my expedition to Moqui than the one I made on August 18 of last year, 1775. And although the knowledge that my sins were responsible for its failure causes me great chagrin and mortification when I speak of it, nevertheless, since your Paternity orders me to do so, because your prudence and zeal for the salvation of souls, when you have been informed about the present state of those of the Moqui, can send more effective workers than I or devise more efficacious methods to convert them, I am now going to give a frank account of everything that has happened.

During the next to last week of Lent the Moquinos began to come down to this pueblo [of Zuñi] for their barter, or *cambalaches* as they say here. They kept on arriving up until Holy Saturday. I took them to my cell, I treated them with

36. Fray Juan Agustín Morfi, *Descripción Geográfica del Nuevo México*, AGN, Historia, vol. 25; translation in A. B. Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1932), pp. 87-107. The translation used here is mine.

1. Biblioteca Nacional, México, Legajo 10, no. 28a; P. Otto Maas, O.F.M., *Viajes de misioneros franciscanos a la conquista del Nuevo México* (Sevilla, 1915), pp. 64-80, from a copy in the Archivo General de Indias Sevilla, 154-7-16 (modern designation Audiencia de Guadalajara, Legajo ). Before making this translation I collated the two versions, supplying the letter to Fr. Murillo from Maas because the Mexican manuscript, which may be an original, comprises the Diary alone. In the translation I preserve the spelling of Indian names as they appear in the manuscript, including Moqui for Hopi, always used by Spanish colonial writers, who do not seem to have been aware of its derogatory implications.

affection, and I showed them every attention I could. They displayed their gratification, especially one, who, rising from the seat he was occupying with some others, said: "Father, how could we have believed, when your house is worth so much and we are so poor, that we should be invited to enter it and to sit where you sit? I am a poor man, but if you go to my land, as soon as I know about it I offer you my house and all I have in it." I thanked him for the invitation and told them all that I would go to visit them in the summer, and for them to greet their caciques and captains on my behalf, telling them all they had heard from me. A short time later the captain of this pueblo [Zuñi] went to Moqui, and I sent further messages by him, which he delivered in all the pueblos of that small province. Their respective leaders replied that they should be very happy to see me there and that they were expecting me as soon as possible. I am particularly pleased by this, for, very bad though I am, I do desire the conversion of these souls; moreover, I considered that it would greatly facilitate my going on to the Cojninás, which I had already thought of doing, in order to proclaim the Gospel to them and to find out the nature and number of the tribes who dwell on both sides of the Río Grande, and finally, to acquire more accurate information than we have about the Spaniards rumored to be on the far side of the Río del Tizón. With this object in mind I decided to go alone with a guide and an interpreter, but neither my Zuñi sons nor their Alcalde Mayor, don Juan Pedro Cisneros, permitted me to go with so little protection. The Zuñis said that although the Moquis made a howl of affection, they were heathens and might take my life, and so they wished either to defend me or to die with me. And when I told them that their suspicions were unfounded, they replied that in years past a father (I have been unable to find out which of those who have gone there) had entered accompanied only by a Zuñi interpreter, and that the Moquis kept the two of them in a cistern for twenty-four hours with the intention of taking their lives. Therefore, in spite of my excuses, the said Alcalde Mayor

and seventeen Zuñis accompanied me. And now that we have come to the journey, I shall set down a literal copy of the diary I kept:

On the twenty-second day of June of the year 1775, under the protection of the Immaculate Virgin of Guadalupe, Mother of God and Our Lady, Don Juan Pedro Cisneros, Alcalde Mayor, seventeen Indians of this mission [of Zuñi], and one of the Moqui tribe from the Sandia mission who was going as interpreter, and I, Fray Silvestre Vélez de Escalante, set out from this pueblo of Zuñi toward the northwest. And after travelling more than four leagues we stopped at a watering place called Topakia in order to escape some of the great heat. After resting a little while I took out the needle to determine the direction the road takes from here, but I could do nothing with it because it pointed directly west northwest, which is almost exactly where the sun sets at this season. No doubt there is some mineral deposit of loadstone or iron in the vicinity in that direction. In the afternoon we continued our journey, and after travelling two and a half leagues west southwest we reached a site called Río Puerco after an arroyo of this name. In the arroyo bed, which is dry most of the time, about a mile to the south of the road, there are three wells of water, but it is not very good. We spent the night here because there was good pasturage and because the next watering place was a long way off.

On the twenty-third we set out from here to the west northwest, and after travelling three and a half leagues through a pleasant wood we reached a watering place which the Zuñis call Kinaituná because many yellow flowers useful for making dye grow on the meadow it waters. In our language this means Spring of the Flowers. It is also called Ojo de San José. Here we saw many farmlands with little ditches for irrigation. I asked the Zuñis who cultivated them, and they replied that the Navajo Apaches did. This spring rises at the foot of a slope right on the road, which now turns to the west, flows east for about a half a league, and then through the whole area that can be seen from there and turns north. The water



is very good, and sufficient to irrigate the farms of a middle-sized pueblo. Such a town would find here all a settlement needs, for it would have good and sufficient lands, water to irrigate them, stone, timber, and firewood nearby, and in addition good pasturage. Later I learned that there is a large pine tree here, completely petrified, but I did not see it.

We stopped at this watering place an hour and a half while the animals refreshed themselves to go on. During this time a family of Navajos arrived. As best I could I told them about the eternal well-being they could gain by holy baptism, and, seeing that I was not going to get anywhere with the adults, from the displeasure with which they heard me, I tried to redeem a child they had with them, but I could not.

The Zuñis did not want to set forth until afternoon, pointing out to me that the next watering place was very distant and that it was necessary to break the journey, going half-way through the sierra which begins right there during the afternoon and part of the night so that the animals might arrive without getting overtired. Nevertheless I decided to go on without further delay. We climbed the slope and travelled about fifteen leagues to the west. I succeeded in quickening the pace, and so we reached the watering place and site named Cumaa at Sunset.

From the first watering place to here it is all an almost unbroken sierra with pines, piñones, small oaks, and some of the trees they call red cedars here. But they are not actually cedars. It is an aromatic tree, with the wood of a purple color very similar to the brazilwood used for dye, but it is different in that it loses some of the color with use and the odor evaporates completely. Between Kinaituná and Cumaa the sierra also produces a good deal of flax which, although it is the real thing, does not have a very good fiber for lack of cultivation.

Very early on the twenty-fourth we left Cumaa toward the northwest. Two leagues from there two roads branch off or leave the one we were taking. One goes in the same direction and takes a very roundabout route. The other goes west through many cañadas, mesas, and wooded patches. We chose

this one as the most direct, and about nine leagues from Cumaa we halted in a small canyon which is a quarter of a league to the north of the road. There is a watering place here at which very fine water trickles from a crag, but it is so scanty that after the few people with me drank, only enough for two animals remained. There was no pasturage either, and so we went on and travelled more than five leagues in the same direction we had been going. Then we turned west southwest, and after two and a half leagues we reached the watering place called Ojo de Cañutillo about ten o'clock at night. The water emerges between large rocks. It is good, and sufficient for many people and horses. It is necessary to take the horses a short distance from the stopping place so that they may have fairly good pasturage.

On the twenty-fifth, before they rounded up the mounts, I sent two Indians to Gualpi to greet the caciques and captains of these three pueblos and to give them the news of my imminent arrival. Shortly before seven o'clock in the morning we set out from El Cañutillo to the west northwest, and after four leagues we began to climb the peñol of Gualpi. The cacique of the Tanos (they say Teguas), who is an apostate Christian named Pedro, and the chief captain of Gualpi, accompanied by Tanos and Gualpis, received us. They themselves made their people take the saddles and other appurtenances of the Alcalde's horse and mine to the lodging they had already prepared for me with order and cleanliness. It was the house of the cacique of Gualpi. They escorted us to it and gave us a very affectionate welcome. I had already heard about the idolatrous abominations associated with their most solemn dances, and to avoid their performing them for me, after expressing my gratitude through the interpreter, I admonished them not to neglect their sowings, which they had not yet finished, in order to celebrate my arrival with dances, and that even if they did so, I could not be present because I was suffering from a urinary ailment. Thus they were satisfied, and I was freed from countenancing by my presence (for never with God's grace would I do such a thing) the very thing that

deserves to be and I wish to see scorned by those who esteem it. About one o'clock in the afternoon they went away, leaving the Alcalde and me happy with our good reception, which gave us great hope for the success of our journey. In the afternoon, after reciting the appropriate canonical hours, I went out with the Alcalde and the interpreter to view the three pueblos at my leisure.

On the twenty-sixth I decided to leave for Oraybi, but they urged me to rest that day, telling me that I was the same as in my own pueblo and not to drive myself so hard. I consented in order not to offend them. The leaders of both pueblos were with me all the greater part of this day, along with many private individuals who came in to see me one after another. I talked to them in the way that I thought best calculated to soften their spirits toward the purpose for which I had come, which I did not wish to reveal to them then because I had decided to begin my preaching in Oraybi, which is like a provincial capital. The pleasure with which, in my opinion, they listened to all I said gave me great joy.

At midday a Moqui Indian of Gualpi entered in haste. Through the interpreter I asked him what he wanted, and he said that he had witnessed a meeting of the Navajo Apaches who were there (they numbered over a hundred) and that after a long discussion about the motive of my visit to Moqui they had decided to attack us when we started back and to take our lives. And in order to make sure of doing it without missing the mark, several messages had already gone to all the rancherías who could assemble within four days. Other messengers remained behind in order to take definite information about the day set for my return and the road I planned to take. He added that a captain called El Menchero had tried to dissuade them from so unjust a resolve, and, not having been able to do so, he withdrew in great anger. And finally, because of his great esteem for the fathers and his pity for me and my companions, he was giving me this warning so that it would be possible to avert the misfortune that threatened us. I replied that I was very grateful to him for the warn-

ing, and that if he should hear the Navajos discuss the same thing again, he was to tell them from me that even all of them were too few to carry out their intention; that if they liked, they might seek the aid of other tribes, but even if many went forth, they would have an exceedingly costly trial of their weakness and my safeguard. He wanted to call upon witnesses to the truth of what he had said, thinking that I did not give him credence, and I allayed his suspicion, saying that although I believed him, I was not worried, nor should he be, because I trusted in God Who is infinitely more powerful than all the men there ever were, are, or will be. The Alcalde made the same reply, which astounded the Moquino.

On the twenty-seventh I set out to the west northwest for Oraybi, accompanied by the Alcalde, three Zuñis, and the interpreter. And after travelling two and a half leagues over a very troublesome stretch of sand, we entered a little pass with many rocks, beside which, half a league to the south, is the mesa where the Tiguas who are now Christians at the pueblo of Sandia formerly lived. There are still traces of their houses on the mesa. The pass has some difficult patches. On either side of the road at the beginning of the descent, which is short, there are three small watering places with good water. From here I sent two Indians to Orayribi [*sic*] to advise the cacique and the others that I was on my way to visit them. After travelling a league and a half, also very sandy, we reached Oraybi shortly before eleven o'clock in the morning.

Here there were no manifestations of courtesy and pleasure as in Gualpi. A young Indian received us and escorted us to the coi, or little house, they had cleared out for us to spend the night in. I was surprised that no one came to see me during the whole afternoon, not even for the sake of novelty. I went out with the Alcalde to take a look at the pueblo. The light did not last long enough, and I returned to my lodging. Then I sent for the cacique and captains to prepare them for the sermon I wanted to preach to them the next day. Only the chief captain and his lieutenant, or companion, came, with some

old men. Through the interpreter I indicated my good will, to which they did not correspond as they should have. I inquired for the cacique, and they said he was out hunting (which I later learned was untrue) and so I should tell them once and for all what I wanted to discuss with them. I replied that when the cacique came we would talk about it, that I was in no hurry, for my sole purpose in coming was to see them and converse with them about things which were very important to them. The chief captain (with obstinacy) said that he was superior to all, that the cacique would approve whatever he might decide, and that if I did not state my purpose in coming then and there, they would not come to me again. In order not to lose the opportunity of their hearing me, I rose among those assembled, I made the preliminary remarks that I considered appropriate, telling them to listen to me with the attention required by a matter so weighty as their eternal well-being or perdition, and that when I had finished speaking they should reply telling me all that occurred to them. And suspecting that for fear of some outrage the interpreter might omit some of the things I had to propound to them, I again reminded him briefly of the repeated instructions I had given him. He assured me that even if he were to know for sure that it was going to cost him his life, he would say everything he understood from both parties, and thus I might speak to him without misgiving. Then I began to explain to them the most essential points of our religion and those most conducive to my purpose in terms that the interpreter could understand and translate into the Moqui language. When I had finished, I gave them to understand that I had been sent by God to proclaim for Him the eternal glory to which He was inviting them even though they had offended Him for so long, and the torments with which He would punish them if they did not abandon their abominations and, becoming Christians, keep His Holy Commandments. I exhorted them with all the force and clarity I could, and they replied briefly that even if what they had heard from me was true they had no desire to be Christians. I urged them again with new arguments, telling

them among other things that they would suffer far greater torments than the rest because, in addition to damning themselves voluntarily, they were the cause of the eternal perdition of their inferiors; and even if they did not wish to be saved they should not prevent the rest from hearing me so that those who freely and voluntarily might wish to do so could take advantage of what they stubbornly scorned. The said captain replied with haughtiness and arrogance that he was ruling as governor, as king, and that he did not want the Spaniards ever to live in his land; and for me not to weary myself in going about giving advice to his people, for none would give ear to me because he had already given orders to this effect and they must perforce obey him. Again I told him not to hate the light, saying everything that could remove from his mind the falsities inherent in so malicious a reply. And realizing from his further replies the stubbornness of his will, I reproved him for it, no longer gently as I had been speaking before, but with the bitterness and anger with which (without my being able to help myself) the sorrow of seeing so great a multitude of souls lost by the ambitious malice of a few had filled me. I left the meeting without taking leave and even without finishing the last word on my lips. They thought some harm might result to them from my anger, and so they begged the interpreter to calm me down, saying that conversion to Christianity should not be by force, that although being Christian was repugnant to them, they wanted to remain on friendly terms with me and with the Spaniards. I returned, having recovered my equilibrium, and explained that I had not been angry with them, but that my profound sorrow because they did not want to be saved, when they could be, was breaking my heart, in which I cherished them all. At this point the meeting came to an end, and I retired to my lodging feeling very sad. Immediately after they left there, they proclaimed that no one was to listen to my counsels because my aim was to subject them to the Spaniards. They also sent the same admonition to all the other pueblos, telling their leaders what reply they were to make to me.

Nevertheless, I did not want to start back on the twenty-eighth before seeing whether I might accomplish something with individuals, or at least find out whether all were equally stubborn. About six o'clock in the morning an Oraybi Indian very quietly entered the room where I was, expecting to find me alone, and since there were two others with me, he was somewhat startled. Then, no doubt to dissimulate the reason for his coming, he asked me in sign language whether I had brought any goods to trade. In view of what I had noticed about him before he asked it, I found the question mystifying, and so I indicated to him that he should wait. He sat down very close to me and tugged hard at my habit in such a way that the others could not note it. Then I got the notion that he had private business with me. The interpreter was not with me; I quickly sent to find him. And in order to entertain and gratify the Oraybi I had some chocolate beaten up for me. I gave him some sips of it and left more than half the cup for him. He took it, torn between pleasure and uneasiness. We remained alone together, and by signs he indicated that I should summon the interpreter quickly. When the latter came, many people had already gathered on the azotea of the house, and the Indian was throwing up the chocolate, which had upset his stomach because he was not used to it. They said something to him, I do not know what, and he then went away without my being able to discover the purpose of his mysterious arrival, and I did not see him again. Many came to see me out of curiosity, but no one entered the room, and the few who did come in, because they found me alone, became uneasy as soon as they heard people outside and left in haste.

I was looking for some Cojninas Indians in order to obtain information about their land and find out whether I could go there alone with them. And when I learned that even two who had been in Gualpi the day I arrived had already left Moqui for Cajhuala, which is their land, I commissioned the interpreter, if any of his relatives or friends were acquainted with it or the route to it, to try to bring him to me with circumspection so that I might get information from him. He

brought me an uncle of his, telling me that he had gone to Cojñina many times and that he would inform me better than anyone else of all he knew. Indeed, his words and countenance showed that a good soul had fallen to his lot and assured the truth of what he might relate. While I was questioning him someone approached from the house in which I was lodging, and when he excused himself from continuing lest this person be aware of it, the very one about whom he was nervous urged him to go on, saying that since the two of them were alone, there was no one to denounce them, that he too knew the land and wanted to satisfy me and reply to my questions. Then, between them they gave me an extensive account of everything.

I devoted the afternoon of this day to viewing the pueblo at my leisure, including the watering places from which they get their daily supply and the ascents to the mesa. A little before nightfall I went out with the interpreter with the intention of going up to some houses, pretending to do so for diversion and out of curiosity, but really in order to preach to their inhabitants. We entered the house of the aforementioned uncle of my interpreter, and, finding him alone with his family, I instructed him and exhorted him to become Christian. And since he had confidence in the interpreter because of their relationship and their mutual love, he spoke without disguise and said: "Tell the father that I am very grateful for his counsels and that I should be very willing to do what he tells me, if I could, for there is nothing I desire more than to be baptized and have my family do the same. But if I declare myself now (you already know this), I cannot remain here except in great danger and losing everything I have. Neither can I leave, because the father brings no arms to defend me." I tried to persuade him to go down with me, but I could not allay the fear that prevented him. And seeing that I was about to take my leave he added: "If the father could bring Spanish people, build a church, and remain here, I and most of the pueblo would become Christians because many of us wish it. Perhaps it will be God's will that fathers come." After this I



lost hope of attaining my end by these means, and I decided to leave Oraybi the next day.

On the twenty-ninth I set forth on the return journey, and about ten o'clock in the morning I reached the pueblo of Xongopau. Here they received me with more courtesy and affection than in Oraybi. They took me to the most spacious and decent little house there was. I went out early to see the pueblo, its watering places and entrances. Then I said for them to try to assemble the cacique, captains, and others for the afternoon, because I wanted to talk to them about something very important. They assembled, and the cacique, captains, and old men of Masajnabi and Xipaolaiby also attended. I made the same speech to them as I had to the Oraybes, adding what seemed best to me in refutation of the embassy they had received from them. They replied that they were already aware of what I had said in Oraybi, and that they did not and could not give any other reply to it all than the one they had given me there. I could not get another word out of them. They said that if I and my people were short of supplies for the return journey, they would provision us. I thanked them for this and the meeting broke up.

On the thirtieth we went to the other two pueblos, Mosajnabi and Xipaolabi, and although the ascent of the two hills is very difficult, I went up them without getting off my horse because my urinary ailment had been aggravated by the rough road, and the pains were such that I could not walk at all. So I rested a while. I spoke to them on the same subject without profit or hope of it, and I inspected both pueblos. We went on to Gualpi. We arrived after midday because my horse wore out completely in the middle of the plain. At sunset I summoned the caciques, captains, and old men of both pueblos, who promptly gathered at the appointed place with many private individuals. I did the same as I had with the Oraybes and the others, not without hope of some success, but it was no use, for they replied, perhaps to excuse their own malice, that they could not go against the decisions of Oraybi. I made an effort to make them realize how unjust and harmful this

subjection was to them. They replied that with regard to my aim they had made a pact by mutual agreement always to stand united, and therefore their reply was not inspired by fear, for if I had begun in Gualpi, the Oraybes would have conformed to whatever had been decided here, since it would always have been the same. Then the meeting broke up, and an Oraybi Indian, who had been awaiting the decision of these pueblos, ran to take the news of it to his pueblo. From this hour on I tried to find out the sentiments and inclination of individuals, instructing and exhorting those I could when there were no people about to prevent them from declaring themselves. I found, as in the other pueblos, some rebellious and others intimidated, although the malicious faction is everywhere larger and more numerous.

Before sunrise on the first day of July I instructed the Alcalde and the interpreter, if they should see any Cojninás, or find them in the pueblo, to bring them to me. The Zuñis had found out that I wanted to go to the Cojninás, and, suspecting that I was going to take them with me (the fact being that I had intended to send them back to their pueblo and proceed with the Alcalde alone since I knew about the feeling the said Cojninás have had against them for some time), as soon as they saw that one of this tribe was looking for me they tried to send him elsewhere. Not succeeding in this, either because they knew neither the Moqui nor the Cojquina language, or because the other did not trust them, they made use of an apostate who knows Zuñi and Moqui in addition to his own language. They told him of their unfounded worry and to accompany the Cojquina in order to persuade me that he was not such, but a Moqui of Oraybi. The Alcalde noticed the concern with which the Zuñis were preventing the Cojquina from reaching my presence, and, inferring their motive, he came down from the azotea whence he had been observing them and brought the Cojquina, now accompanied by the said apostate, to me. [The Alcalde] told me what had been happening, and armed with this information I began to ask the Cojquina about his people. The apostate immediately replied that the man was

not a Cojnina, but from Oraybi. I reproved him as he deserved and sent him home. Then I told the Cojnina that I loved his people very much because I already knew that they had good hearts, and that for this reason I wanted to see them and talk with them; that he was not to believe what they [the Moqui] could have told him, for they had doubtless deceived him. I lit a cigarette, I drew on it first, and then I gave it to him so that he might also smoke. Passing them back and forth we smoked two cigarettes, and now he emerged from his perplexity, showing himself serene and happy. By this means suspicions of deceit are mutually dispelled, and they make known that they simply esteem one another, especially the Yutas and Cojninias. And so he began to answer all my questions, through the interpreter. After we had conversed for nearly two hours he made me a rough but clear map of the road that goes from Oraybi to his land, indicating turns, stages, and watering places, the area his people occupies and inhabits, the distance from the last rancherías to the Río Grande and the direction in which it flows, and the bordering tribes. He drew all this with charcoal on the sudadero of a saddle. I do not reproduce this map now because I hope that God is going to allow me to do so after I have already seen all this. When the sketch and our discussion of it was finished, he said: "Father, now my heart is at ease, and therefore I want to tell you why I have come. When you reached these pueblos two of my people were here, and as soon as they had taken a good look at you, they went without stopping to my ranchería, which is the nearest, with the news that a father with some Spaniards had arrived at Gualpi. They had scarcely finished telling this when my chief captain proclaimed that all the men who could travel were to get ready to go to see you before you returned. We journeyed in great haste, and the day before yesterday we met the Oraybis. When they asked us where so many of us were going together, we replied to see you and to talk with you. Then they told us that you had already left and that we should not be able to overtake you. My captain was sorry and all of us were sorry. We dis-

cussed what we should do. And my captain said that at least one of us should go to see you, if he caught up with you, in order to greet you in the name of all. We thought this was a good idea. My captain then ordered me, who am also a petty captain, to leave swiftly, and if I was fortunate enough to overtake you, to tell you what had happened and tell you that my captain and all my people desire that you, all the fathers, the great captain, and all the Castilians (that is, Spaniards) were to be good and content, that my people are very fond of them, and that you are to say so to all of them." I replied in terms corresponding to such an expression of good feeling [and said] that if he had not found me so ill and without an animal to ride, because the only horse I had was completely incapacitated for so long a journey, I should have gone with him to see his people, whom I already loved as my sons, but that perhaps God would cure me and we should see each other there. And as a token of my affection, with my own hands I placed a ribbon about his neck and gave him some of the tobacco of the kingdom, which they prize highly, telling him to deliver it to his captain and that the principal men of his *ranchería* were to smoke it together in my name as if I were present. He remained with me until I left Gualpi. He descended the *peñol* with me and took his leave, embracing me tightly.

On the second, after midday, I heard from the room or *coi*, where I was, a great noise and disturbance in the street. I hastened out to learn the cause and saw some of the masked men they call *entremeseros* here, and they are equivalent to the ancient Mexican *huehuenches*. The frightful and gloomy painting of their masks and the height of indecency with which they ran in view of many people of both sexes were very clear signs of the foul spirit who has their hearts in his power. The only part of their bodies that was covered was the face, and at the end of the member it is not modest to name they wore a small and delicate feather subtly attached. This horrifying spectacle saddened me so that I arranged my departure for the following day.

And in order to follow the course of my return journey without interruption, I will tell about Moqui first. But because I must set down the approximate number of families each pueblo has, I note that the Indians of these provinces mean by a family mother, father, daughters, husbands and children of the daughters, because the mother and not the father bestows the surname. The origin of the house comes from them, as well as everything else that stems from the masculine trunk with us. And so when they marry, the daughters and granddaughters do not leave the mother and grandmother, even if they come to have many offspring. Therefore three, four, and sometimes five married couples compose a single family, and the families I enumerate are of this kind.

### MOQUI

There are no more than four and a half leagues from the first pueblo of this small province to the last, which is Oraybi. Today there are seven pueblos. The first three are on the mesa, or peñol, of Gualpi. The first of these consists of Teguas and Tanos who have been living there since the general uprising [of 1680]. Their language is all one, but different from the Moqui language. This pueblo is located upon the very pass which divides the peñol from the mesa, and it has about 110 families. It has its two captains and the cacique, who is an apostate Christian and is called Pedro. The second pueblo is of Moqui Indians. It does not have its own government because it is like a hamlet of Gualpi. It has two small tenements and about fifteen families. The third pueblo is Gualpi, and it must have at least two hundred families. The people of these three pueblos have no watering place for their daily supply except the one which lies at the foot of the peñol and on the east side right on the only road by which the mounts can go up to the pueblos. The water is bad tasting and so scarce that the Indian women take turns to get it and usually stay there several hours before their turn comes to fill their water jars or gourds. There is another watering place west of the peñol at

the foot of a little hill, but it is farther away and so serves only for the stock. A little more than a mile away, on the plain to the north-west of the pueblos, there are three small springs of perennial water. To the northeast, in a canyon at the foot of the mesa, there is a more abundant spring of better water. On this side mounted men can climb the mesa, but only up to the pass, and if necessary cut off fugitives here. All the other approaches are footpaths and difficult going. A mounted troop can reach all these watering places and defend them without its being possible to attack them with arrows or stones from any eminence.

There are three more pueblos on two arms of another mesa to the west of the above-mentioned. On the north, Mossajnabi and Xipaolabi. The former has about fifty families and the latter fourteen, because the inconvenience of the site has forced its inhabitants to move to the south arm of the mesa. On the east side of Mossajnabi, on the road which goes from Gualpi and already on the plain, is the water supply of these two pueblos. And it consists of three abundant wells of good water, one of them perennial and running. There are three entrances, even on horseback. One on the east northeast, and this one is hard going for riders. Another on the south is not very bad. And the third along the mesa itself from Xongopabi. There are several footpaths. The ancient pueblo of San Bartolomé de Xongopabi has been rebuilt on the south arm. Today it keeps only the name Xommapabi (those who are not Moquinos say Xonogopabi). It has three well-arranged but not very large tenements and about sixty families. The only watering place which supplies this pueblo is on the north skirt of the mesa. They have two more nearby on the plain. One toward the south, and this is perennial. The other to the east and this is a middle-sized well which usually dries up. The mesa has two ascents for mounted men. One is on the west and has some difficult stretches. The other on the east northeast, and this one is good even for pack animals, but it is easy to defend it, even with a very small force.

The third mesa is to the west northwest. The pueblo of

San Francisco de Oraybi (just Oraybi today) is on it. It has eleven rather large and well-arranged tenements, with streets to all directions, and there must be at least eight hundred families. It is governed by two captains and a cacique. It has two main entrances, one on the east and the other on the northwest. Both are easy, even for people on horseback. At the beginning of the first are two watering places of bad water, which serve only for the animals, but it is necessary to draw it from the wells so that they can drink from some depressions which the people of the pueblo have made in stones. At the beginning of the second about a mile to the north of the pueblo, is a spring of good water, This is the one which, although small, supplies the pueblo. Very near to the pueblo on the west they have six large cisterns in which a great deal of water can be collected when it rains or snows, but when I saw them they were dry.

All the pueblos have an abundance of sheep, whose wool is usually black. They also have some cattle, and there is much more of this at Oraybi. This includes a good herd of horses. They plant maize, frijoles, chile, and cotton. Of this they make very fine textiles in their style, and they weave the wool to trade and to clothe themselves. The fruits here are melons, watermelons, and peaches. At a considerable distance they have piñon.

They dress like the Christian Indians of this kingdom. The Moqui women do not wear their hair on the forehead in a bang like the other Indian women here, but comb it in the old Spanish fashion, although with a certain difference, that is among themselves, because the married women and widows are distinguished from the girls and unmarried women by the manner of dressing the hair.

They told me that one day's journey north of Moqui there is a middle-sized river with good meadows. There is another west of Oraybi, whether large or small I do not know, and it cannot be very far because the Oraybes use it to irrigate some plantings they make on its banks.

The religion of the Moquis today is the same as before they

heard about the Gospel. The chief god they worship is the sun. In addition they have a multitude of innumerable idols, which are no more than petrified and painted pieces of wood. In Gualpi especially they keep some snakes, which become tame with handling. They take them out of the estufas for their most solemn dances and perform many idolatrous ceremonies with them. I have heard tell that the Oraybes preserve with great esteem the body of the Venerable Father Trujillo, complete and flexible, but I could not find the least trace of this, nor does it seem credible to me.

On the third day of July we left Gualpi for Zuñi by a different road than the one we took when we came. Although I tried to avoid it, the captain of Gualpi sent forty armed men to find out whether some smokes that had been seen in the direction where we were going were of the Navajos who planned to kill us. I was most grateful for this action. After travelling about five leagues we reached a site called Aguatobi. The watering place is at the foot of a little hill right on the road. It is a middle-sized spring of good water, sufficient to provide for many people and horses. There are many peach trees near its source. We remained here until five o'clock in the afternoon in order that after drinking at this hour the horses would be able to reach the next watering place, which is about twenty-two leagues from this one. At the said hour we went on, and as soon as we had climbed the hill we sighted the ruins of the old mission and pueblo of San Bernardino de Aguatobi. It was on a height a little more than a quarter of a league to the south of the place where the said spring rises. We travelled southeast until about two o'clock in the morning. We halted near a hill which stands alone on the plain to rest a while and let the animals feed. Before sunrise we continued our laborious journey to the east. Shortly before noon the animals began to tire so much that some were unwilling to go on even without riders. Finally, at two or three in the afternoon we reached the watering place called Ojo de la Jara. It is an abundant watering place with good water. There is very good



pasturage on the piece of land it bathes and in the vicinity. At this stopping place there are also some great trees, whose shade was a great relief to us, for the sun, which was very hot, had tired us out. We rested and the horses recuperated.

On the fifth we set out from this place, and after travelling nine leagues east northeast we reached the watering place called Ojo del Almagre. Shortly before we arrived we saw six horses there. We thought that the Gila Apaches (who frequent this road a good deal) were there. The Alcalde went on ahead with three Indians and found that the animals belonged to a well-known Navajo. The watering place is of medium size and has good pasturage. We rested there, and at four o'clock in the afternoon we continued in the same direction. At nine or ten o'clock at night we halted in a thicket of sabinos and piñones, having traveled six leagues to the east. There was no water here, but there was good pasturage.

On the sixth we made an early start and reached this mission of Our Lady of Guadalupe of Zuñi about nine o'clock in the morning, very happy because Our Patroness and Lady had by her intercession delivered us from the misfortunes that threatened us, and others that might have overtaken us on so dangerous a road as the one we took, because it is the nearest to the Gila and Mescalero Apaches. I found that none of my sons at my pueblo had died. God be forever blessed. Amen.

This, our father, is what happened, where I went, what I did and observed during my journey to Moqui. And although I relate it with the roughness of my style, I do not deviate from the truth in any way. I shall be pleased to accomodate your Paternity in any way and [to know] that you enjoy physical and spiritual wellbeing, in which I pray God to preserve your important life for many years. Mission of Our Lady of Guadalupe of Zuñi and April 30, 1776. Your most affectionate and useless subject kisses your Reverend Paternity's hands. Fray Silvestre Vélez de Escalante.

The foregoing agrees with the original, which is in my charge in this Secretariat. And in order that it may be of

record where and when it may be necessary, by verbal order of our Very Reverend Father Minister Provincial Fray Isidro Murillo, I issue the present writing, sealed with the small seal of the Province.

Done on the 12th day of the month of August of this year of 1776 in this Convent of Our Father St. Francis of Mexico City.

*Fray Miguel Martínez, Secretary of the Province (rubric)*  
There is a seal.

# THE BENJAMIN COOPER EXPEDITIONS TO

## SANTA FE IN 1822 AND 1823

By KENNETH L. HOLMES\*

WILLIAM BECKNELL was called by Hiram Chittenden "the founder of the Santa Fe trade and the father of the Santa Fe trail."<sup>1</sup> Becknell's expedition from Missouri to Santa Fe in 1821, the year of Missouri's statehood and Mexico's independence, helped to make known the new attitude of the New Mexicans toward Yankee traders. His trip of 1822 with wagons revealed greater possibilities than might have been realized if the trade were to depend on pack animals.

There has been a tendency, however, to emphasize the Becknell trips at the expense of several other Missouri travelers who played a significant part in opening the Santa Fe trade. Important among these venturesome men from the Boonslick country were the Coopers: Benjamin, Stephen, and Braxton, who went out with parties in 1822 and 1823.

The real leader of these expeditions was "Colonel" Benjamin Cooper. Ben Cooper was a Revolutionary War veteran,<sup>2</sup> having taken part in the Bluelick fight in Kentucky.<sup>3</sup> He had fought in Indian skirmishes in Kentucky<sup>4</sup> before emigrating to the Missouri frontier in 1808. He led a few members of the Cooper clan into the Boonslick country in that year. They were among the first settlers in that important area.<sup>5</sup> They settled about a mile below Arrow Rock, for many years the meeting place of the Indian tribes for obtaining

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1. *A History of the American Fur Trade of the Far West* (Stanford, California), II, p. 501.

2. Mary Louise Dalton, "Names of Revolutionary Soldiers Known to Be Buried in Missouri," *Missouri Historical Review*, II, No. 1 (October, 1907), pp. 55-56.

3. Louis Houck, *A History of Missouri* (Chicago, 1908), III, p. 121, fn. 38.

4. *Ibid.*

5. John L. Thomas, "Some Historic Lines in Missouri," *Missouri Historical Review*, III, No. 3 (April, 1909), p. 213.

arrow-head material.<sup>6</sup> Because of the hostility of the Indians and the lack of clarity as to Indian rights, the government had ordered the Cooper settlers to move closer to St. Louis. For a short time they lived at Hancock's Bottom, near St. Charles; then they moved to Loutre Island, not far below the mouth of the Gasconade. In February, 1810, Ben Cooper and a body of Kentuckians and Tennesseans started back into the Boonslick area and settled on both sides of the Missouri, laying the foundations of Boonsville and Franklin.<sup>7</sup> Benjamin Cooper is usually given credit for having blazed the "Boonslick Trace" up the Missouri from St. Charles.<sup>8</sup>

In 1811 Benjamin Cooper was made a justice of the peace in the Femme Osage District by Governor Benjamin Howard.<sup>9</sup> With the coming of the War of 1812 he was prominent in the frontier Indian fighting, being listed as a major in the executive journals of 1814.<sup>10</sup>

Cooper was involved in a partnership producing saltpeter for making gunpowder with John Ferrel and the ubiquitous John Day, who died in 1820 in far away Oregon in a valley which today bears his name.<sup>11</sup>

The numerous newspaper references to Benjamin Cooper during the 1820's invariably call him "Col. Cooper." On August 19, 1824, Alphonso Wetmore wrote, in a report prepared for Congressman John Scott a statement purporting to tell of the importance of the Santa Fe trade for citizens of Missouri, that he had obtained most of his information from "Col. Benjamin Cooper." Wetmore called Cooper "a man of

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6. T. C. Rainey, *Along the Old Trail: Pioneer Sketches of Arrow Rock and Vicinity* (Marshall, Missouri, 1924), pp. 9, 11.

7. Thomas, *op. cit.*

8. Raymond D. Thomas, "Missouri Valley Settlement," *Missouri Historical Review*, XXI, No. 1 (October, 1926), p. 32, fn. 42.

9. Thomas Maitland Marshall (editor), *The Life and Papers of Frederick Bates*, II (St. Louis, 1926), p. 196.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 286.

11. "Last Will and Testament of John Day," *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, XVII (December, 1916), p. 377.

good understanding, which, I believe, is not in the least impaired by age."<sup>12</sup>

The other two Coopers associated with the old colonel in the records of the opening of the Santa Fe trade were his two nephews, Braxton and Stephen. These were the sons of his younger brother, Sarshall, who was killed by the Indians on April 6, 1815.<sup>13</sup> In later years the two younger men were often confused in the reports of the Santa Fe journeys and were each given credit by sundry authorities for being in charge of the Cooper expedition caravans.

Josiah Gregg wrote in *Commerce of the Prairies* of a party of Colonel Cooper and sons,"<sup>14</sup> meaning undoubtedly the two nephews. Max L. Moorehead, in his edition of Gregg, footnotes the aforementioned reference indicating Benjamin Cooper as the leader of the 1822 party, but erroneously dubbing Stephen Cooper as the leader of the one in 1823.<sup>15</sup> Stephen did not help matters in later years, when he had become a California settler, by giving himself most of the credit for whatever creditable happened on both journeys.<sup>16</sup> Stephen's friend, Joel P. Walker, who went out on the 1823 Cooper expedition, confused matters even worse by saying in a reminiscence for Hubert Howe Bancroft in 1878 that he and Stephen Cooper had "raised a company of thirty one men

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12. "Petition of Sundry Inhabitants of the State of Missouri, Upon the Subject of a Communication between the Said State and the Internal Provinces of Mexico, with a Letter from Alphonso Wetmore upon the Same Subject. February 14, 1825." *Senate Document* 79, Eighteenth Congress, Second Session (Washington, D. C., 1825), p. 5.

13. "News and Comments," *Missouri Historical Review*, XI, No. 2 (January, 1917), p. 231.

14. Max L. Moorhead (editor), Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1958), p. 14.

15. *Ibid.*, fn. 12.

16. Stephen Cooper told his story, essentially the same, but with slight variation in details, in three places:

1. "Sketch of the Life of an Old Pioneer of Missouri and California," *Colusa* (California) *Sun*, June 17, 1871, hereafter referred to as "Cooper, *Colusa Sun*."

2. Memoir in *History of Howard and Cooper Counties, Missouri* (St. Louis, Missouri, 1883), p. 154, hereafter referred to as "Cooper, *Howard and Cooper Counties*."

3. *Sketches from the Life, Maj. Stephen Cooper* (Oakland, California, 1888), copy in Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California, hereafter referred to as "Cooper, *Sketches from Life*."

and started for Santa Fe about the middle of May.”<sup>17</sup> Walker here is wrong about his date, too, for his story is about the 1823 journey. The contemporary reports in the *Missouri Intelligencer*, pioneer newspaper of Franklin, refer to “Col. Cooper” as leader of both the 1822 and the 1823 expeditions *without exception*. Although Benjamin Cooper must have counted on his two nephews for a great deal of help, the old veteran was the real commander of both parties, and it is fair to call them the Benjamin Cooper expeditions.

The first of these evidently came about as a response to the news brought back from Santa Fe by William Becknell in January 1822. Becknell returned to tell of a favorable reception by the New Mexicans, of great profits to be realized in a trade with the “Interior Provinces,” and of the ease with which a journey could be made from Missouri to New Mexico through open country and up a gentle slope.<sup>18</sup> He, himself, projected taking wagons on his next trip and planned to leave in May. The 1822 expedition led by Benjamin Cooper got under way about the middle of May, a few days before the second Becknell party, which left the Missouri settlements on May 22.<sup>19</sup> There were fifteen men in the Cooper caravan.<sup>20</sup>

On the way out the Coopers met the Hugh Glenn-Jacob Fowler party on the latter’s return trip. It was at the Point of Rocks on the Arkansas River that contact between the two groups was made. Jacob Fowler wrote in his inimitable style in his journal that on “Wensday 12th June 1822” they met “Conl Coopers party from Boons Lick on their Way to the Spanish Settlement With Some goods and Some traps to take Bever.”<sup>21</sup>

The *Missouri Intelligencer* published a mistaken report on September 3 that the Cooper party was in dire circumstances,

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17. Joel P. Walker, “Opening of the Santa Fe Trade,” ms., Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California.

18. “Journal of Two Expeditions from Boone’s Lick to Santa Fe,” (Franklin) *Missouri Intelligencer*, April 22, 1823.

19. *Missouri Intelligencer*, September 3, 1822.

20. Cooper, *Howard and Cooper Counties*.

21. Elliott Coues (editor), *Journal of Jacob Fowler* (New York, 1898), p. 166.

having been "robbed by Indians, and left in a starving condition."<sup>22</sup> This proved to be untrue, as was later admitted in the columns of the *Intelligencer*, which corrected the story of the party by saying he had learned "from a respectable gentleman of the company, with whom we have conversed, that nothing serious occurred to interrupt their progress during their absence."<sup>23</sup>

The trip was later summarized briefly by Stephen Cooper :

Nothing worthy of mention happened to us on this expedition till we arrived at Tous, about sixty miles from Santa Fe, when, not knowing what our reception would be at that place, and having heard that orders had been given to stop us, the company halted, and I rode on alone to Santa Fe. I arrived there one Sunday morning, and rode through the streets some time before I could find any one with whom I could talk. Finally a well dressed, good-looking young man came up to me, who could speak very good English. He asked me if I had met any men on the way, looking for me? I told him no. He said a party had been sent out to take me and bring me to the Governor. He wanted me to go with him and give myself up. To this I agreed. He then wanted me to disarm myself, which I refused to do. He said it would never do to go into the presence of the Governor armed, but I told him I would not give up my arms any way. I had a rifle, a big knife suspended from my neck hanging down in front of me, and a large horse-pistol by my side. Finally, after a good deal of talk, he conducted me to the Governor's house just as I was. The Governor had just stepped out of the door as we rode up, and on my making my errand known he received me very politely, and gave permission for my company to come and trade, which they did accordingly, disposing of their goods advantageously.<sup>24</sup>

The governor told Cooper, "Do the best you can and encourage a trade with us."<sup>25</sup> There is no certainty as to the identity of this governor. From July 5 to November, 1822, Francisco X. Chaves was *jefe politico* and D. Facundo Melgares was *jefe militar*. In the fall of 1822 both functions were combined

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22. *Missouri Intelligencer*, September 3, 1822.

23. *Ibid.*, October 8, 1822.

24. Cooper, *Colusa Sun*.

25. Cooper, *Sketches from Life*.

in one office. It seems likely that Stephen Cooper's interview was with Governor Chaves, but one cannot be sure.<sup>26</sup>

The Ben Cooper party returned from New Mexico as summer waned into fall, arriving in Franklin, Missouri, again early in October.<sup>27</sup> The *Intelligencer* reported the arrival and told of the party having "met with some trifling losses on their return."<sup>28</sup> They brought back "specie, jacks, jennets, and mules."<sup>29</sup>

In contrast to the above rather sketchy picture to be gleaned of the first expedition led by Colonel Benjamin Cooper from Missouri to Santa Fe, there is more information about the second trip a year later.

The *Missouri Intelligencer* gave them an enthusiastic send-off in its issue of May 13, 1823:

A company, consisting of about thirty individuals, left this county during the last week, on a commercial adventure to Santa Fe. They will proceed to Fort Osage, from whence they will take a direct course to the place of their destination. Each of them is provided with one or two pack-horses, and mules, on an average, about two hundred dollars worth of goods. We are gratified to learn that they have selected Col. Cooper, of our most respectable citizens (who visited that place last summer), to command them. His knowledge of the place, and his experience in Indian warfare, admirably qualify him for the task, and render him a very valuable acquisition to the company. The whole party is well armed, and will no doubt be able to resist successfully an attack from any of the wandering tribes of savages which it may encounter on the way. We wish the greatest success to so worthy a spirit of liberal enterprise.

So the first 1823 caravan was on its way to Santa Fe. It is to be noted that the investment per capita had increased markedly since the first Becknell expedition in 1821, when

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26. Lansing Bartlett Bloom, "New Mexico under Mexican Administration, 1821-1846," *Old Santa Fe*, I, No. 2 (October, 1913), pp. 154-155.

27. *Missouri Intelligencer*, October 8, 1822.

28. *Ibid.*

29. "Petition of Sundry Inhabitants . . . with a Letter from Alphonso Wetmore," *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6.



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each man was asked to put up a mere ten dollars.<sup>30</sup> Now each was starting with a \$200 ante of goods to be traded in the Mexican provinces. Their stock was made up principally of dry goods.<sup>31</sup>

The company traveled west until they reached the Little Arkansas about 300 miles from Franklin. On the first of June they were attacked by Indians, who stampeded their horses. Joel Walker described the event in later years with great vividness:

The plains were literally covered with Buffalo. Two men who were guarding the Animals came in and said they thought there were Indians near by. I told them to drive in the animals immediately. I had hardly given the order before bang! bang!! bang!!! went the guns of the Indians who also stampeded our horses. Cooper returned the fire. I was bare-headed, barefooted and without clothes, but I ran about a quarter of a mile thinking some of the horses would stop. I then heard some one following, and saw the Indians driving horses: we yelled and broke for camp. They caught four of the horses. I then with four of the Campers mounted a horse and started in pursuit of the Indians which we continued until 10 o'clock that night.<sup>32</sup>

The Indians got away into the sand hills with fifty head of horses and mules, leaving only nine. According to Stephen Cooper, no member of the Santa Fe party was killed or wounded, but he, himself, killed one Indian.<sup>33</sup>

They were thus left in an impossible position for continuing to Santa Fe, so it was decided that most of them would stay with the goods while a small party returned to the settlements for more horses. On June 17 the *Intelligencer* told of the calamity which had befallen the expedition and reported that six men had returned for more stock. The newspaper blamed the attack on the Osages and conjectured that

30. *Missouri Intelligencer*, June 25, 1821.

31. "Petition of Sundry Inhabitants . . . with a Letter from Alphonso Wetmore," *op. cit.*, p. 6.

32. Walker, ms., *op. cit.*

33. Cooper, *Colusa Sun*.

the Indians, numbering about twenty, had followed Ben Cooper and his party for eighty miles with the view towards horse-stealing.

When the six reached their party twenty-two days after leaving for the east, they were amazed to see "fully fifteen hundred Indians in and around the same."<sup>34</sup> Some of the little group suggested that they turn around and go back, but they finally found the courage to approach the main camp and found that the Indians were friendly Caws on a buffalo hunt.<sup>35</sup>

The reunited caravan meandered the Arkansas, stopping occasionally to hunt buffalo. In crossing the noted *jornada* between the Arkansas and the Cimarrón and beyond they suffered greatly from lack of water. Stephen Cooper wrote later that just after noon one day several of the men gave out and were unable to travel:

The rest of the company, with the exception of myself, cut the lash ropes from our packs, scattered the goods upon the ground, took the best horses and dashed off like crazy men for water, leaving me and the eight men behind. Some of those who were about to leave us fell on their knees and plead with me to go with them and save my own life, urging as a reason that the men were bound to die, and that I could do them no good by staying. I said I would not leave them as a breath of life was left in one of them; that if they found water they should return to us. This was one or two o'clock in the afternoon. When it became dark I made a fire of Buffalo chips, and fired guns in the air. About midnight four of the men returned with water, and we were all saved.<sup>36</sup>

Others of the men ran onto a dirty pond which had been wallowed by buffalos. They remained there for two days, fighting off buffalo all the while. Joel Walker killed one, skinned it, and put water inside the skin of the thigh. Then

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34. *Ibid.*

35. *Ibid.*

36. *Ibid.*

they left for the Arkansas looking for the rest of the party.<sup>37</sup>

Joel Walker then told about one of those chance encounters on the trail, which, as R. L. Duffus has suggested, "are among the most fascinating and baffling features of some of the early narratives . . . they hint at so much and tell so little."<sup>38</sup> Walker and his wandering friends saw at a distance a group of men whom they supposed to be other members of the Cooper caravan. "I kept my eyes on them," says Walker, "and saw, as I supposed, an Indian with his hair flying up and down. He came up and to my immense astonishment I saw he was my brother, Capt. Joe Walker, who had started the year before trapping."<sup>39</sup>

This "Joe Walker" was none other than the great trapper, Joseph Reddeford Walker, "West Wind," as the Indians called him, who was guiding members of the James Baird-Samuel Chambers party to a store of goods which they had buried when snowed in during the previous winter. The goods had already been found and unearthed to be taken on into the New Mexico settlements. This locale came later to be called "The Caches," and the holes in the ground were visible for many years, becoming a landmark along the Cimarrón cutoff. Gregg wrote, "Few travellers pass this way without visiting these mossy pits."<sup>40</sup>

The Walker brothers and the other men continued the search for the remainder of the Cooper party and soon located them at the brink of a pond of water left by the rain-storm. There was a happy reunion on the banks of the Arkansas.<sup>41</sup>

Joseph Reddeford Walker had with him a Comanche Indian, Francisco Largo, probably a tall, lank fellow, who made large claims as a guide in that country. In later years he did

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37. Walker, ms., *op. cit.*

38. R. L. Duffus, *The Santa Fe Trail* (New York, 1930), pp. 77-78.

39. Walker, ms., *op. cit.*

40. Josiah Gregg, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

41. Walker, ms., *op. cit.*

become quite an effective guide.<sup>42</sup> On this trip, however, he proved undependable, and the party was soon astray again and short of water. There were 55 of them now in the combined parties, along with 200 horses and mules.<sup>43</sup>

The ensuing story that Joel Walker tells of the agonizing days that followed indicates that it is probable that Josiah Gregg's tale of the sufferings of the second Becknell expedition really applies to the joint Benjamin Cooper-Joseph Walker parties.<sup>44</sup> Gregg has been the authority for the tradition that William Becknell's men had resorted to drinking the blood of mules and even drank the contents of a buffalo's stomach. One of the men is supposed to have said about the last, "that nothing ever passed his lips which gave him such exquisite delight as his first draught of that filthy beverage."<sup>45</sup>

R. L. Duffus suggested in 1930, "It is barely possible that the near-tragedy in the desert happened, not to Becknell but to Cooper the next year, 1823."<sup>46</sup> The fact is, that Becknell had wagons in 1822, and Gregg's story shows no knowledge of this. Also Becknell, himself, related the story of a party other than his which had to drink the blood of their mules.<sup>47</sup> The one in question is probably this combined expedition of Colonel Cooper and Joe Walker.

One of the men, William Huddart,<sup>48</sup> had become isolated from the rest and, when they found him, he had killed a buffalo and was sucking the blood of the animal to quench his thirst. He had become greatly confused; when they gave him a drink of water and put him on a mule, he insisted, "I had better have some more blood!"<sup>49</sup> Huddart, according to Joel Walker, "had crawled into the dead Buffalo and came out

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42. Kate L. Gregg, *Road to Santa Fe* (Albuquerque, New Mexico, 1952).

43. Walker, ms., *op. cit.*

44. Gregg tells of the experience on pp. 14-15.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

46. Duffus, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

47. *Missouri Intelligencer*, June 25, 1825.

48. There is a brief story of William Huddart's later experiences in the Santa Fe trade in the *Missouri Intelligencer*, April 19, 1825.

49. Walker, ms., *op. cit.*

a specimen horrible to behold.”<sup>50</sup> The men gave him a bath and a hair cut so that he looked more like a human being.

Soon the joint expedition reached the Cimarrón Springs, and during the remainder of their journey they “had no further difficulty.”<sup>51</sup>

Upon their arrival in the New Mexico settlements they found that, on the whole, the people were friendly. Their dry goods from Missouri caused quite a stir. Joel Walker says, “We had two bales of bleached domestic which we sold for Forty five dollars a bale. We could have sold calico and cotton for any price asked. A little looking glass worth about ten cents was easily sold for a dollar.”<sup>52</sup>

While they were in New Mexico, one member of the party died, a “Mr. Mars,” a Boone county man, who “unfortunately fell a victim to fever.”<sup>53</sup>

The return trip was uneventful enough to merit no word from the chroniclers of the party. They reached Franklin toward the end of October. The *Missouri Intelligencer* was glowing in its praise of the venture and dubbed the trip a profitable one, mentioning “above 400 Jacks, Jennets, and Mules, a quantity of beaver, and a considerable sum in specie.”<sup>54</sup> The frontier newspaper pointed out that “the beaver and the livestock will bear a profit by transportation to some of the older states, and the specie, in these dull times, will serve to impart activity to the business of the country.”<sup>55</sup>

The story of the Benjamin Cooper party and its returns made national news, being publicized in the December 13, 1823, edition of *Niles Register*.<sup>56</sup> The Niles story was a paraphrase of the above-mentioned *Missouri Intelligencer* report. Three days later, on December 16th, a dispatch was sent from the Mexican embassy in Washington, D. C., to the Secretary

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50. *Ibid.*

51. Cooper, *Colusa Sun*.

52. Walker, ms., *op. cit.*

53. *Missouri Intelligencer*, October 28, 1823.

54. *Ibid.*

55. *Ibid.*

56. *Niles Weekly Register*, December 13, 1823.

of Foreign Relations at Mexico City, quoting the *Niles Register* story.<sup>57</sup>

Colonel Benjamin Cooper, his two nephews, and the other men brought back to the Missouri settlements the three principal items of commerce which would become staples among the imports from Santa Fe through the years ahead. The "Jacks, Jennets, and Mules" were part of the continuing influx of jack stock which laid the basis for the Missouri mule business, which would grow to dynamic proportions due to the expansion of the cotton kingdom down the Mississippi.<sup>58</sup>

The importation of beaver furs from the "Interior Provinces" would stimulate the penetration of New Mexico and even far-off California by American trappers such as Ewing Young, William Wolfskill, Ceran St. Vrain, and many others and, along with the further demand for mules and mulestock, stimulate the opening of the New Mexico-California trails and the exploitation of the great Colorado basin.

The advent of Mexican specie would give financial impetus to the burgeoning frontier communities in Missouri and adjacent areas and help to alleviate some of the inadequacies of a barter economy in that region.

The Santa Fe trade had a multiple paternity, and one of the fathers was Colonel Benjamin Cooper of the Boonslick country.

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57. "Torrens to Secretary of Foreign Relations," December 16, 1823, *La Diplomacia Mexicana* (Mexico City, 1912), II, p. 13, reported in William R. Manning, "Diplomacy Concerning the Santa Fe Road," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, I, No. 4 (March, 1915), p. 517.

58. For a study of this subject the best reference is John Ashton, "History of Jack Stock and Mules in Missouri," *The Monthly Bulletin*, Missouri State Board of Agriculture, Jefferson City, XXII, No. 8 (August, 1924).



## BRADSHAW BONANZA

By PATRICK D. HENDERSON \*

THE lure of precious minerals has always been an incentive for frontier expansion. Mineral discoveries were obviously important to the Spanish Colonial period and some of their discoveries were indeed very rich. The mining frontier was no less important to the Anglo-American after the news reached the eastern United States and South American countries that rich placers were being worked on the American River in California.

It would be impossible in this paper to give a lengthy description of the advance of the Mining Frontier from California into the neighboring areas. It moved across the Sierra Nevadas, the Cascades, over the great river systems of the West and resulted in the development of such notorious camps as Bannock, Virginia City and the famous Comstock, or to the immediate interest of Arizonians, penetration into the mountains surrounding Prescott, the districts adjacent to the Colorado River, or the opening of the vast copper enterprises in the Clifton-Morenci area.

In central Arizona and the region around Prescott speculation as to the mineral potential was a subject of interest as early as Jack Swilling's pursuit of some Apaches up the Has-sayampa for some distance in 1860.<sup>1</sup> At that time Swilling was positive he had seen some rich outcroppings of gold and silver. But, in spite of Swilling's encouraging report, these were turbulent times in Arizona. Placers were producing some ore on the Gila River<sup>2</sup> and south of the Gila were profitable mines,<sup>3</sup> but the Indian barrier of the trans-Gila to the

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1. *Tucson Arizonian*, January 26, 1860. They saw "... in point of appearance this region has the finest indications of gold of any they have ever seen."

2. H. H. Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico* (San Francisco: The History Publishing Co., 1888), p. 496.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 499. Also Doris Bent, "The History of Tubac" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Arizona, 1948), p. 90.

north was formidable. What military protection there was would soon be withdrawn because of the Civil War. However, in spite of danger from hostile Indians and the remoteness of the country, by 1863 the placers on the Gila were exhausted, the prospectors had moved up the Colorado and were working in the La Paz and Ehrenburg area.<sup>4</sup> In nearby California the camps on the Kern River were played out.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, with or without military protection, prospectors became increasingly interested in what Arizona north of the Gila and east of the Colorado might yield in gold and silver.<sup>6</sup>

In 1863 two separate parties made rich strikes in the above area. One, led by Pauline Weaver and A. H. Peeples, found gold on Rich Hill near present day Yarnell.<sup>7</sup> The other strike was south of Prescott on Lynx Creek and the Hassayampa, and the discovery was made by a prospecting party led by the intrepid old Mountain Man, Joseph Reddeford Walker.<sup>8</sup> News of the new bonanzas soon had the usual motley crowd of prospectors, gamblers, saloon men, and ladies of pleasure flocking into the new "diggings."

In the early days, that is to say, from the initial discovery near Prescott by Captain Walker and his men, and the Weaver placers to the southwest, the camps were scattered. Eventually Prescott was designated as the territorial capital and gradually assumed the semblance of a town serving the needs of the surrounding camps.<sup>9</sup>

Prospecting out of Prescott was not merely a matter of grubstake and looking for gold. The Indians were extremely

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4. Edmund Wells, *Argonaut Tales* (New York: H. P. Hitchcock Company, 1927), and Bancroft, p. 580.

5. James M. Barney, "The Story of the Walker Party" (unpublished manuscript, Arizona Pioneer Historical Society, Tucson).

6. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

7. James H. McClintock, *Arizona-Prehistoric-Aboriginal-Modern* (Chicago: S. J. Clark Publishing Company, 1916), I, 110.

8. Daniel E. Conner, *Joseph Reddeford Walker and the Arizona Adventure*, ed. Donald E. Berthong and Odessa Davenport (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956).

9. Act of Congress, February 20, 1863 created the Territory of Arizona and the new territorial officials were ordered to proceed to Prescott to set up the new Territorial Government. There was some doubt as to the loyalty of the Tucson citizens at this time. Strangely enough, the Surveyor General of the Territory was an exception to the above orders and was told to organize his office in Tucson.

hostile and mines and placer locations that could have been worked profitably under more pacific circumstances were abandoned. One mining operator on Lynx Creek remarked that he had to hire more guards than miners because of the Indian conflict. There were some notable exceptions, of course. "Uncle" Billy Pointer worked a shaft south of Prescott some distance during the late 1860's at a time when others had given up,<sup>10</sup> and Shelton<sup>11</sup> had two mines working during this period of strife. However, the majority of the miners and prospectors, reluctant to risk their lives, made frequent appeals to the military and civil government for relief from Indian depredations.

The end of the Indian difficulty did not come until 1874, but three years before the Indian removal of 1874 one of the most significant, but perhaps least known, strikes was made approximately thirty miles south of Prescott in the Bradshaw Mountains; and near this strike a community grew up that was proclaimed by some to be the future capital of Arizona. Unfortunately, after a violent and rowdy period of existence the town fell into obscurity. This was Bradshaw City.

The genesis of this tough little camp was in 1869 when Jackson McCracken headed south into the Bradshaws to prospect. McCracken was no stranger to the difficulties of surviving in the mountains, but he was extraordinarily daring in the opinion of many of his fellow prospectors to attempt any venture south of Lynx Creek. McCracken, evidently a rather determined man (and, according to a story in Farish, an aromatic figure; that is to say, his fellow legislators in one of the early sessions of the territorial legislature of which he was a member, refused to convene until they had forcibly scrubbed McCracken in Granite Creek because his presence in the House was a bit rank) decided he would have to see what the Bradshaws could produce in the way of min-

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10. J. Ross Browne, *Resources of the Pacific Slope* (New York: D. Appleton Company, 1869), p. 249. Herman Ehrenburg wrote this description of Pointer's endeavors and affectionately called him "Uncle" Billy Pointer.

11. Rossiter W. Raymond, *Statistics of Mines and Mining in States and Territories West of the Rocky Mountains* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1871), p. 248.

eral wealth. After an absence of three months, friends of McCracken gave him up as a victim of either the Indians or the elements. However, McCracken returned to Prescott packing sixteen-hundred dollars in select gold ore.

McCracken's discovery of rich ores in the Bradshaws focused attention upon the inner mountain mineral regions. There had been some prospecting as far south as Silver Mountain in 1864-65, but as has been mentioned, the Indian situation had made it impossible to exploit discoveries that had been made at that time.<sup>12</sup> With gold as rich as the McCracken prospect possessed, the miners were willing to face Indians, transportation difficulties, and many other hardships to bring out the gold and silver. McCracken, the Jackson brothers, James Fine, and R. C. McKinnon immediately returned to the new gold claim, built an arrastre, and arranged for the transportation of a stamp mill to be packed up to the mine. In 1870 the Del Pasco, as the new claim was called, was being worked at an average of \$73.00 per ton by arrastre.<sup>13</sup> When the stamp mill was finally packed in and a run of six and one half tons of ore was made through the mill, the yield was \$1,900. In 1871, during the time that the mill was in and when the water source was sufficient to run it, the total produce of the mine was \$7,428.<sup>14</sup> Obviously the mill increased the productivity of the mine, but the initial expense of bringing it in was, according to Lt. D. A. Lyle in his report, \$10,000 which represented a large overhead when the mill could only operate during periods when water was available.<sup>15</sup>

Evidently a camp was established near the Del Pasco for the *Arizona Citizen* in 1870 reported that ". . . Allen 'Scotty' Cameron shot and killed William Watson. Cameron was

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12. Prospecting in the Silver Mountain area is mentioned in a publicity brochure issued by the Mammoth Mining Company. *An Undeveloped Property, Mammoth Gold and Silver* (Boston: James Adams Printer, 1883). This brochure is in the University of Arizona Library.

13. *Raymond's Report*, 1871, pp. 244-5.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 333.

15. George M. Wheeler, *Preliminary Report Concerning Explorations and Surveys Principally in Nevada and Arizona* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872), pp. 54-55.

drunk and his reason was destroyed by whisky." The newspaper item also contained some reference to ". . . first blood at the Bradshaw Camp."<sup>16</sup>

Shortly after the Del Pasco discovery, two prospectors named Hammond and Dan Moreland arrived in Prescott with several pack animals loaded with select ores from a prospect southwest of the Del Pasco. They came into Prescott Saturday, January 28, 1871. The select ores were given out for local assay and the result was silver that assayed from \$1,600 to \$11,000 per ton. The assay reports were out on Sunday, and Monday the packtrains and pedestrians were lined out headed for the Bradshaws.<sup>17</sup> Old timers who had prospected on Silver Mountain and other areas to the south in the early days of 1864-65 rushed down to protect abandoned claims. A news item published a week later in the *Arizona Citizen* confirmed the richness of the ores in the new Hammond and Moreland prospect. A correspondent from Prescott wrote in a letter to the *Citizen*, "W. C. Collier claims he is going to move his house, goods and all, down to the Tiger Camp." (This was the name given to the new discovery. Incidentally, Collier was one of the prospectors who had dared to go as far south as Silver Mountain in 1865).<sup>18</sup> Throughout the late winter and spring of 1871 the Tiger Mine was a principal topic of discussion among the mining men of the area.

In March 1871 the *Citizen* reported, ". . . Tiger mines are selling for fifty dollars a foot on prospects with no improvements or exploration and fifty dollars a foot refused for improved properties."<sup>19</sup> A week later the newspaper has more precise information that gives some idea of the magnitude of this rush. For example, ". . . A. Simpson is packing ore to Prescott from the Tiger Mines . . . and C. C. Bean and

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16. *Arizona Citizen*, Tucson, A. T., December 8, 1870.

17. *Ibid.*, February 25, 1871.

18. Collier came into the Territory with Ed Peck in 1863 and was active in the Lynx Creek and other mining areas. The Mammoth Gold and Silver brochure previously mentioned listed Collier as one of those who had ventured into the Silver Mountain District nine miles south of the Tiger Mine in 1864-65.

19. *Arizona Citizen*, Tucson, A. T., March 3, 1871.

Bowers [probably Ed Browsers who was at one time sheriff of the county] are packing up ores soon.”<sup>20</sup> The same news item mentions the discovery of the Eclipse, Grey Eagle, and Cougar Mines. These are all noted on Blandy’s map of the “Mining Regions Around Prescott, Arizona,” published in the *Transactions of the Institute of American Mining Engineers*, 1882.

A more personal note is supplied by an excerpt from a letter written by O. H. Case who was residing in Prescott at this time. The letter is addressed to John Wasson in Tucson who was the Surveyor General of the Arizona Territory and also the editor of the *Tucson Citizen*. Case had done some work for Wasson and anticipated a position with the Surveyor General’s office as a Deputy United States Surveyor of Public Lands. In March 1871 Case wrote, “. . . there is not much news up here [Prescott] only that pertaining to the Bradshaw Mountains where in all that own feet think that they are all right for this world if not for the next. However, I think there is little if any doubt that the mines are very rich, perhaps richer than the most sanguine expect. I understand a mountain city has been started and everything looks out brightly on the silver future.”<sup>21</sup>

Again, from the April 1, 1871, issue of the *Citizen*, “One-hundred and fifty men are working in the new Tiger District. James Fine [who was mentioned previously as one of the early arrivals in the Del Pasco strike] told Solomon Shoup that the Del Pasco is producing rich ore. Eclipse Mine ores are being shipped to the Vulture,” near Wickenburg.

Shortly after Case had written to Wasson in regard to the establishment of a mountain city near the Tiger, he was called down there to survey town lots. The survey of the townsite was located on a wash that ran into the head of Humbug Creek on the northwest slope of Mount Wasson, Bradshaw

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20. *Ibid.*, November 11, 1870. Simpson reportedly shot and killed A. J. Dunn in Prescott in a fight over a woman. He was released on \$5,000 bail. Evidently the case was either dismissed, or pending, while Simpson ran his pack train from the new diggings.

21. O. H. Case to John Wasson, March 24, 1871, *Correspondence to the Surveyor General*, A. T., Los Angeles Federal Records Center.

Mountain as it was known then. The lots were twenty-five by one-hundred and twenty-five feet. The *Weekly Arizona Miner* noted that shortly after Case finished his survey, sixty lots were sold.<sup>22</sup> Undoubtedly many of these were taken up by speculators, but by April there were two stores in the camp, and a saloon housed in a twenty by twenty-four foot frame building. The reported sale of lots does not specify what procedure was used in purchasing them, but it is presumed that according to the Acts of Congress providing for the survey of towns on the unsurveyed public domain there must have been some form of town government in the camp. The usual tent city appeared, but with timber nearby it was not long before there were a number of permanent structures. Late in May a hotel was advertising in the *Weekly Arizona Miner* and by July a number of businesses were advertising their services in the Prescott newspaper.

The town began to flourish, as well as any community may be said to flourish in the midst of hostile Indians, its only connection to an established city a horse trail and a wagon track that only came within five miles of the town. It ended at Minnehaha Flat west of Bradshaw City. If the camp, or town, lacked refinement it offered a sufficiency of crude gaiety and the necessities of life to satisfy the miners, prospectors, and *entrepreneurs*. During the summer of 1871 Messrs. Gordon and Walker ran the Fashion Saloon. A Mr. Hagan operated the Nevada Restaurant and Simpson, the ore packer, also ran a saddle train from Prescott each week. Travelers left Prescott at 7:00 A.M. and arrived, according to the owner, in Bradshaw City at 7:00 P. M. two days later. The distance covered was estimated to be about thirty miles by Simpson who took the most direct route over rough terrain. An early traveler from Prescott to Bradshaw City gave the following description of the trail:

[We] went south of Prescott to a point near the headwaters of the Hassayampa about ten miles from town. This was the

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22. *Weekly Arizona Miner*, Prescott, A. T., April 29, 1871.

first night's camp. The next day over the divide [presumably the pass between Mount Union and Mt. Tritle] and on to the headwaters of Turkey Creek. The party continued on down Turkey Creek, passed the ruins of the Bully Bueno Mill, and on to a fork in the trail at Battle Flat. From there the party took the south trail to the slope of Bradshaw Mountain [Mount Wasson] and were only a mile or a mile and a half, from the Del Pasco. They continued on into Bradshaw Basin and crossed a ridge to the south where the tents and buildings of the town were seen.<sup>23</sup>

This was the horse trail. The wagons, carrying supplies, went southwest from Prescott to Walnut Grove and then in an easterly direction to Minnehaha Flat. From this point the goods were packed into Bradshaw City. Upon arrival, the traveler might avail himself of the "creature comforts" advertised in the Prescott newspaper by the Progressive Hall. The advertisement does not fully describe what these "creature comforts" may have been. In addition to the previously mentioned saloon and restaurant, Mr. Beardsly and Messrs. Hussey and Miller ran grocery stores. A newspaper once described Bradshaw City in the following words:

A settlement started there [the Tiger Mine] known as Bradshaw City where for many months there were many saloons and dance halls in full blast but there were no churches.<sup>24</sup>

Another description of the camp that was printed in the *Weekly Arizona Miner* February 21, 1879, states that:

Bradshaw is one of those God-forsaken places wherein none but those who are barred from the pale of civilization should live. It is the headquarters for the Tiger Mine, and it has been appropriately named the Tiger as many former residents who packed their blankets out of the camp can testify.

Although this was written several years after the big bonanza, evidently there was some activity in the old camp; and the same issue of the paper contains the information that N.

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23. *Ibid.*, July 11, 1871.

24. *Arizona Journal Miner*, Prescott, A. T., August 12, 1903.



C. Shekels, who would later be one of the developers of the Crowned King Mine, was running a dry goods and grocery store at Bradshaw City.

However, to return to the events of 1871, as soon as the richness of the Tiger had been confirmed there was, as Case mentioned previously, a brisk trade in footage on adjacent claims. The manner of selling a claim was briefly this: The original claimants sold fractional parts of the lode, or vein, which was, actually, selling shares in the claim. There were times when so many parties became involved in this practice, and the partnerships were so complex, that the claim was left undeveloped while the owners quarreled (which did happen in the case of the Tiger), and money that could have been expended on development was used up in expensive litigation.

The high spirits over the Tiger strike lasted through the summer of 1871 despite the lack of cash and the prevalence of transactions on paper rather than substantial development. The Tiger Mining District was organized in June 1871, and the District Law was published in the Prescott newspaper. It should be noted that the custom of organizing a district dates back to the days of the Forty-Niners in California. The gold-seekers found it necessary to establish their own rules in regard to the location of claims and the amount of improvement necessary to keep possession to the claim and its minerals. The United States Government had not been faced with a mining rush of this magnitude before, and it was not until 1866 that the government passed anything resembling a United States Mining Code.<sup>25</sup> However, this mining law of 1866 the practice of organizing a district, as long as it did not conflict with the federal law, was recognized as a legal right of the miners.

In the case of the Tiger District and most of the surrounding area, the law of 1866 was generally the basis for organizing a district. That is to say, they adhered to maximum distance allowed on the vein (3,000 feet) and lines running three-hundred feet on either side. The law also included the

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25. U. S. *Statutes at Large*, XIV, 251-52.

rules for posting the claim and stipulated the amount of annual improvement necessary to retain the claim. Later, in 1872, the law was modified and the Act of Congress, May 10, 1872, still remains the basic mining law of this country.<sup>26</sup>

In contrast to the speculation and optimistic estimates of the future of the Bradshaw Mines, and the Tiger in particular, a more cautious note is discernible in the report of John Wasson, printed in the *Arizona Citizen*, July, 1871. Wasson had visited the Tiger while he was en route to San Francisco. He pointed out that, although the prospect was rich, capital was just beginning to enter the field. In a mine of the type the Tiger proved to be, exploration at depth was necessary. As is often the case in mining speculation, the initial profits are on paper and the necessary funds to finance the development must come from established financial centers. Several representatives of San Francisco development companies had just arrived on the scene when Wasson made his visit. At this time the engineers and millmen were reserved in their comment, but shared Wasson's view that the silver vein would prove to be valuable.

Wasson went on to San Francisco after his visit to Bradshaw City and spoke to several promoters. He had no financial interest in the mine himself, but again reported that the San Francisco companies seemed inclined to invest in the Tiger.<sup>27</sup>

Meanwhile, life in the camp began to slow down. Statements claiming the town would eventually have a population of ten or twenty-thousand inhabitants were obviously unrealistic. By the end of the summer of 1871 many of the miners began to drift off to the other fields, notably the new discoveries to the northwest in the "Wallapai" District.

Work continued on the Tiger, though, and during the winter of 1871-72 forty or fifty miners lived in the camp. Prob-

26. U. S. *Statutes at Large*, XVII, 91-96.

27. *Arizona Citizen*, Tucson, A. T. Lent, Hurst and Company, Hobart of Washoe, and Riggs and Company were mentioned by Wasson as having representatives on hand to survey the value of the Tiger. Wasson spoke to Mr. Lent when he arrived in San Francisco and Lent, although cautious, spoke well of the Tiger as a possible investment.

ably most of them were hard-rock miners and perhaps newly arrived company hired men rather than the old prospecting crowd of the previous summer. Work on the shaft continued and a drift on the vein was started at this time.

In October of 1871 Second Lt. D. A. Lyle was instructed by Lt. G. M. Wheeler to make a survey of grazing lands and mines from northwestern Arizona south to Prescott and the regions immediately south of Prescott which included the Bradshaw mines. Lyle described Bradshaw City at this time:

Prescott, Arizona Territory, is the nearest post office, about forty miles distant [Lyle entered Bradshaw City via the Walnut Grove-Minnehaha route which was considerably longer than the trail used by Simpson, but it appears Lyle went north into Prescott via the Simpson route. This creates some discrepancy between what Lyle estimates and Simpson advertised as the most direct trail] reached by a trail. This is a good track, but is in many places, very steep. There is a wagon road from Walnut Grove to Minnehaha Flat, five miles distant from Bradshaw City. A steep trail leads from the flat to the city. The place contains about one dozen log cabins and a store.<sup>28</sup>

Lyle also reported that the only mill in the district (and this would include the area covering the Tiger, Pine Grove, and Bradshaw Mining Districts) was the five-stamp mill at the Del Pasco. Water was scarce when Lyle was there, which undoubtedly inhibited the use of the small mill. Living costs were high in Bradshaw City. Hay sold for \$75 per ton, barley was fifteen cents a pound, lumber one-hundred dollars per thousand feet, and miners' wages were two-dollars and fifty cents per day.

It appears that Lt. Lyle may have underestimated the size of the city as evidence of advertising in the Prescott newspaper indicates more establishments, at least during the summer of that year, than Lyle reported.

Nevertheless, development on the Tiger continued and by February 1872 the shaft was down one-hundred and twenty

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28. *Wheeler's Report*, pp. 54-55.

feet. The drift along the vein was reported to be one-hundred and sixty feet. Ores at that depth were valuable in ruby silver and the mine was beginning to show promise of becoming an important producer. Case reported one shipment of fourteen tons of Tiger ore to San Francisco that yielded \$10,374.<sup>29</sup>

However, by this time Bradshaw City had had its brief moment of glory and would never again reach the size it attained when the report of the Tiger strike was first brought into Prescott. The late James Cash, an Arizona pioneer, said he visited the site of Bradshaw City in 1888, and the buildings were not in evidence. By that time, the center of population, in the Bradshaws, had moved over to the newer camps around Crown King.<sup>30</sup>

During the years 1872-75 the mining activity in the Bradshaw region was centered around the Tiger, Eclipse, and Oro Belle Mines. Northeast of this group McKinnon and Goodwin worked the War Eagle and in one run of select ore in 1873 extracted \$1,200 in gold from eight tons by arrastre. W. C. Collier was working gold from the Goodwin, and there was activity in the Big Bug, the Walker, and the Hassayampa Districts.

All through the Tiger excitement there were those who declared the old districts had not been properly worked, and that these properties were just as profitable as any in the area. This was undoubtedly true in many cases. The milling processes were crude and transportation costs were very high, but the potential was there. What is even more important, the Tiger strike brought a substantial population into the Bradshaw area and into the Territory. Although by the winter of 1871 miners were shifting over from the Bradshaws to the new fields in the Wallapai and Sacramento Districts, the Bradshaws had been proven a rich field for mineral exploitation and remained a prominent producing region for many years thereafter.

29. *Raymond's Report*, 1872, p. 333.

30. Personal interview, James Cash (now deceased) and Patrick Henderson, 1956. Mr. Cash was a resident in the Arizona Pioneer Home and his mind was extremely alert, although he was bedfast at the time of the interview.

## INDIAN EXTINCTION IN THE MIDDLE SANTA CRUZ RIVER VALLEY, ARIZONA

By HENRY F. DOBYNS\*

THE MIDDLE Santa Cruz River Valley south from *Punta de Agua* to near the modern boundary between the United States and Mexico supported a large prehistoric population of northern Piman Indians. The number of ruins recorded in the area attests to the former density of Indian population, which was also documented to some extent in early Spanish records dealing with frontier affairs in northwestern New Spain. Yet, no native Piman Indian population remains in the middle river valley today. The only Indians currently living there are immigrant Papagos, Yaquis and a scattering of Indians from other tribes who inhabit migrant labor camps built by non-Indian farmers, primarily engaged in cotton production.<sup>1</sup> Nor has there been more than seasonal occupation by northern Piman Indians (a group which includes the contemporary Papagos) for over a century, except in immigrant settlements satellite to Anglo-American mining or farming enterprises.

The disappearance of the native inhabitants from most of the riverine and much of the upland area of southern Arizona opened many stretches of river, mountain springs, and the grass lands whose use they permitted, to Spanish and later to Mexican settlement. Gradually during the 18th century and rapidly during the final golden age of Spanish imperialism on the Sonoran frontier after Apache pacification, and even more quickly during the early years of Mexican independence when colonial regulations were swiftly relaxed, Spanish and then Mexican entrepreneurs moved in on lands and water resources vacated by the original northern Piman Indian occupants. In a discussion which remains the best yet published of Mexican land grants in south-central

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1. Henry F. Dobyns, *Papagos in the Cotton Fields, 1950* (Tucson: Author, 1951).

Arizona, Mattison<sup>2</sup> attributed the native abandonment to raids by enemy Indians. Speaking of Tucson about 1846, he commented: (following Bancroft):<sup>3</sup> "On account of the frequent Apache raids the few remaining ranches in the Santa Cruz valley were abandoned in the last decade of the Mexican regime."<sup>4</sup> Referring to an earlier period under Spanish imperial rule, Mattison inferred that little is known of ranching then because ranchers lacked land titles. He concluded that such 18th century ranchers also had to retreat south of modern Arizona "on account of the Indian incursions." With regard to the northern Piman Indian settlements encountered by Spanish frontiersmen entering modern Arizona, Mattison wrote: "Indian attacks had caused most of the *rancherías* around the missions and the *visitas*, established by Father Kino and his successors in the 18th century, to be abandoned."<sup>5</sup>

Mattison and a host of writers of all kinds who have attributed the depopulation of northern Sonora and also New Mexico at various periods to long-sustained hostilities with enemy Apache Indian bands were correct in citing Apache raiding as a cause for the contraction of aboriginal Indian settlement. They erred, however, in assuming that warfare was the *only* or even the *principal* cause of territorial abandonment by the natives of New Spain's Sonoran frontier. The present paper seeks to bring together in a coherent analysis available evidence on the process of biological extinction of the aboriginal inhabitants of the middle Santa Cruz River Valley,<sup>6</sup> in order to demonstrate the fundamental importance of disease agents in that process. The area considered is cen-

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2. R. H. Mattison, "Early Spanish and Mexican Settlements in Arizona," *New Mexico Historical Review*, 21:4 (Oct. 1946) pp. 273-327.

3. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico* (San Francisco: History Co., 1889).

4. Mattison, *op cit.*, p. 284.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 285.

6. Much of the data analyzed were collected while the author was Research Associate of the Arizona State Museum investigating Tubac history for the Arizona State Parks Board.

trally located in the region with which Mattison dealt, and was the key to wider land use, so that it constitutes an appropriate geographic sampling.

The last survivors of the native Indian population of the middle Santa Cruz River Valley, the inhabitants of Tumacacori, fled down river to San Xavier del Bac, an amalgamated community of northern Piman Indians which has survived to the present day by continually attracting migrants from other settlements.<sup>7</sup> Tumacacori provides, then, a suitable starting point for working backward through time so as to examine the evidence.

1. *Tumacacori*. The last settlement of sedentary, irrigation-agriculturalist northern Piman Indians in the middle Santa Cruz River Valley seems to have been abandoned during the latter part of December in 1848, or very soon thereafter. A U.S. military column en route to California found it inhabited toward the end of October of 1848.<sup>8</sup> Apaches raided both Tubac and Tumacacori in December of that year, killing nine persons at the former settlement of Mexicans and Manso Apaches, and even more individuals at the latter Indian amalgam settlement.<sup>9</sup> The Tumacacori Indians then abandoned their homes,<sup>10</sup> and fled to Bac, thus strengthening that community at a crucial time. Their absence from Tumacacori thereafter was noted<sup>11</sup> by a number of Forty-Niners following the southern route to the California gold fields the following year. A party of southern emigrants reached the abandoned buildings at Tumacacori on May 27, and a New Orleans journalist with the group thought it a ranch whose abandon-

7. Henry F. Dobyns, *Pioneering Christians Among the Perishing Indians of Tucson*. (Lima: Editorial Estudios Andinos, 1962) pp. 24, 27-29.

8. Henry F. Dobyns (Ed.), *Hepah, California! The Journal of Cave Johnson Coutts from Monterey, Nuevo Leon, Mexico, to Los Angeles, California, during the years 1848-1849* (Tucson: Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society, 1961) pp. 57, 59, 61, 75 n. 14.

9. *El Sonorense*, February 21, 1849, p. 3, col. 1.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 1, col. 2. The copy of this newspaper in the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, was Bancroft's (1889:474-475) source for his statement cited by Mattison (1946:284) that Tumacacori was abandoned at this time after an Apache assault.

11. Although Mattison (*op. cit.*, p. 293) thought the "time of abandonment" of Tumacacori "remains a matter for conjecture."

ment he placed in the previous February and attributed to a raid by fifty Apaches.<sup>12</sup> The peaches in the old Tumacacori Mission orchard were ripe by September 1, supplying passing migrants with delicious fruit.<sup>13</sup>

While an Apache attack precipitated the departure of the survivors at Tumacacori, it was merely the final straw in a long series of reverses. Tubac, three miles away and defensive partner of Tumacacori, had been partially depopulated during the fall by the gold rush to California from northwestern Mexico. When the Tubac population fell below what the Mexicans considered a safe size for resisting Apache attacks, they decamped to Tucson. While their migration augmented the size of Tucson, the increase merely restored the combined population to a previous level. It was not, in other words, a genuine increase over prior size. The Tumacacori increment at Bac had the same effect of maintaining viable settlement size by amalgamating previously independent villages. This was the ultimate such amalgamation of middle Santa Cruz River Valley settlements, and the final change in the demography of that region, so far as Indian occupation was concerned.

Tumacacori (Chukum Kavolik "Caliche Bend") had been an Indian mission staffed by Franciscan priests until the expulsion of foreign-born clergy from Mexico in 1827-1828. Its post-mission population may have fallen below the 103 enumerated there in 1796,<sup>14</sup> although the settlement had apparently stabilized at approximately 100 persons toward the end of the 18th century. Whatever their number, the refugees who fled Tumacacori to go to Bac in 1848 constituted the entire surviving native Indian population of the Middle Santa Cruz River Valley and beyond. No other native settlement remained occupied by that time, all having directly or indirectly contributed people to the Tumacacori population.

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12. Ralph P. Bieber (Ed.), *Southern Trails to California in 1849* (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark, 1937) p. 209.

13. Mabelle Eppard Martin (Ed.), "From Texas to California in 1849, Diary of C. C. Cox," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 29:2 (Oct.) p. 143.

14. Alfred Whiting, "Census of Tumacacori in 1796," *The Kiva*, 19:1 (Fall) pp. 1-12.



Prior to becoming a mission headquarters early in the 1770's when Franciscan missionaries who entered northern Piman territory in the summer of 1768 moved the former Jesuit mission there from Guebavi,<sup>15</sup> Tumacacori had been a visitation station of Guebavi since as early as 1742.<sup>16</sup> It was reported as inhabited by 150 persons in 1697.<sup>17</sup>

2. *Tubac*. The Tumacacori population had already received before the transfer of mission headquarters at least one infusion from another nearby aboriginal northern Piman settlement. The Mexican fort at Tubac was the successor to a royal post founded in Spanish colonial times in 1752 at an Indian village. Indians were recorded at Tubac<sup>18</sup> at least as early as 1726.<sup>19</sup> The Spanish post was founded as a counter measure to the Pima revolt against Spanish rule in November of 1751. The local populace fled during the revolt, and a Spanish officer with the punitive expedition recorded that forty Indians had returned to Tubac in April of 1752 after peace had been restored.<sup>20</sup> This was probably only part of the pre-revolt population. More natives likely returned later, but competition with the Spaniards for the Tubac site proved to be too much for the natives, and they moved to Tumacacori within a few years of the founding of the military post. On June 9, 1758, some Tubac Indians were recorded as resettled at Tumacacori,<sup>21</sup> and they had all moved before 1762.<sup>22</sup> What-

15. San Jose de Tumacacori (cited hereafter as "Tumacacori") Libro de Bautismos (cited as "B"), Libro de Casamientos (cited as "C"), and Libro de Entierros (cited as "E"). MS, Archive of the Bishop of Tucson. Copy in Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society.

16. Santos Angeles de Guebavi, Libro de Bautismos (cited hereafter as "Guebavi B") 7. Libro de Casamientos is cited as "Guebavi C," and Libro de Entierros as "Guebavi E." MS, Archive of the Bishop of Tucson. Copy in Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society.

17. Harry J. Karns and Associates, *Unknown Arizona and Sonora, 1693-1721. Luz de Tierra Incognita by Captain Juan Mateo Mange* (Tucson: Arizona Silhouettes, 1954) p. 94.

18. Tjuivak "where something rotted"—Carl Lumholtz, *New Trails in Mexico* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912) p. 385.

19. Alphonse Louis Pinart (collector), Libro de Bautismos del Partido de San Ygnacio de Caburica, in Coleccion de Pimeria Alta, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, p. 60 (Cited hereafter as "Pinart A").

20. Joseph Diaz del Carpio, Padron General de los Pueblos Cituados al Norte de esta Pimeria Alta. . . . Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara 419, f. 93v-94 (Copy in Bancroft Library).

21. Guebavi B, 114.

22. Juan Nentvig, *Rudo Ensayo* (Tucson: Arizona Silhouettes, 1951) p. 141.

ever the size of the Tubac migration may have been, it was apparently little more than enough to maintain the size of the Tumacacori settlement.

3. *Guebavi*. Still, the reinforced Tumacacori population was evidently larger than the number of survivors at Guebavi (Ku Vaxia, "big spring"), since the Franciscans were motivated to relocate the mission headquarters. The native population at Guebavi had fallen to fifty by December 19, 1766,<sup>23</sup> despite numerous and repeated infusions of population from other northern Piman villages in the middle valley, and an earlier population of ninety to over 200 individuals estimated in 1699 and 1700 respectively.<sup>24</sup> Eighty persons were reported there in 1697.<sup>25</sup>

The impact of disease mortality upon local northern Piman Indian populations may be indicated by a brief analysis of the depopulation of Guebavi during one quarter-century period. The process of depopulation of this mission can be reconstructed during a twenty-four year period from the beginning of 1743 to the end of 1766. Records of baptisms and burials at Guebavi Mission are available from 1766 back to 1742 with a break in 1752-53 following the northern Piman revolt in November of 1751.<sup>26</sup>

In none of these twenty-four years did baptisms exceed burials. The disparity between seven recorded baptisms and 213 burials was 206. Adding this figure to the reported population of fifty at the end of 1766 yields a total of 256 persons alive at Guebavi at the beginning of 1743. In other words, if this reconstruction is correct, one northern Piman Indian survived in 1767 where five had lived only a quarter-century earlier in 1743. The rate of depopulation averaged approximately seven per cent annually. The actual rate fluctuated from zero to 19.9 per cent in 1751, with other peaks of 18.5

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23. Nicolas de Lafora, *Relacion del Viaje que Hizo a Los Presidios Internos Situados en la Frontera de la America Septentrional Perteneciente al Rey de España* (Mexico: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1939) p. 126.

24. Herbert E. Bolton, *Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimeria Alta* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1948) Vol. I, p. 204, 233.

25. Karns, *op. cit.*, p 94.

26. Guebavi, B & E.

per cent in 1749, 15.3 per cent in 1766, and 12.2 per cent in 1762.

This computation is subject, of course, to several sources of bias, but does provide at least an approximation of reality. Baptismal figures may not truly represent the native birth-rate because of reluctance of Indian parents to have infants baptized. This seems unlikely, however, since northern Pimans had prior to this time typically sought baptism for their children, even carrying them a considerable distance to obtain it.<sup>27</sup> Burial records may be an underenumeration of actual deaths, but for the purposes to which the records have been put in estimating rate of depopulation, underenumeration of deaths would tend to balance any underenumeration of births. Lack of records of either type for two years of the twenty-four indicates an even greater actual disparity between the 1743 and the 1766 populations than was recorded, so the approximation offered here seems conservative. Determination of residence at Guebavi mission may be the most serious source of bias.

This possible source of error exists because Guebavi was absorbing population increments from other settlements from time to time which helped to maintain its size while its death rate far exceeded its birth rate. This process of amalgamation proceeded simultaneously at all the Spanish mission stations on the northern Piman Indian frontier because of Spanish pressure to consolidate settlements, biological depopulation, and to some extent for fear of Apache attacks. Biological decrease *interacted* with fear of enemy Indians and Spanish imperial policy to motivate northern Piman settlement amalgamation.

4. *Ku Shu:tak*. As Juan Bautista de Anza, commander of the Spanish fort at Tubac, returned northward from the City of Mexico with troops, supplies and colonists for an overland expedition to the California coast in 1775, he camped his pioneering host for the night of October 14-15 at a place

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27. Francisco Xavier Alegre, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesus* (Mexico: J. M. Lara, 1841) V. II, p. 265.

called *Las Lagunas* (the lakes) on the middle Santa Cruz River.<sup>28</sup> None of the expedition's diarists mentioned an Indian population at these lakes and there indeed probably had been none there since before 1762, for the Jesuit writer Juan Nentvig<sup>29</sup> confused this place with Guebavi when he wrote about "Guebavi, in Pima Gusudac or Great Water." Before Nentvig, Juan Mateo Manje, while descending the Santa Cruz in 1699 came to "the settlement of Guebavi or Gusutaqui, which gets its title from another river which runs from east to west and joins it at this place."<sup>30</sup> The missionaries who advanced the Christian frontier north down the Santa Cruz in 1732 also used both native place names, calling their new mission The Holy Angels Gabriel and Rafael of "Guebavi, or Cusutaqui."<sup>31</sup>

*Ku Shu:tak* could not have been the same settlement as Ku Vaxia in aboriginal times. Linguistic analysis shows this: Guebavi or Guevavi in Spanish orthography is northern Piman Ku Vaxia in Lumholtz's English orthography, *Ku* being an augmentative<sup>32</sup> and *Vaxia* a water source such as a spring, waterhole or well,<sup>33</sup> although often translated into English with the general sense of *water*. Probably Nentvig's and Manje's Piman-speaking informants also rendered *vaxia* into Spanish as *agua*, thus misleading them. Lakes or streams in Piman place names are designated by another term for water, *shu:tak*<sup>34</sup> which refers in current everyday northern Piman speech to drinking water. The point of this brief analysis is that there was a prehistoric northern Piman settlement on the shores of what the Spaniards came to call "The Lakes" which survived into early historic times, but was often lumped with nearby *Ku Vaxia*. That two settlements

28. Herbert E. Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1930) V. IV, p. 17.

29. Nentvig, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

30. Karns, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

31. George P. Hammond, "Pimeria Alta After Kino's Time," *New Mexico Historical Review*, IV:3 (July) p. 229.

32. Lumholtz, *op. cit.*, p. 379, 381.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 382.

34. ":" designates a "long" or "held" vowel.

actually existed is also shown in the distinction made by a Jesuit missionary more familiar with the area than Nentvig. On May 5 and 6, 1736, Ignacio X. Keller, S. J., baptized some six individuals living at *Ku Shu:tak*. One more Indian from the lakeside settlement was baptized on July 22, 1736.<sup>35</sup> Then three more lake shore dwellers were baptized by this local missionary on February 17, 1737,<sup>36</sup> five more on January 19, 1738,<sup>37</sup> and finally one on February 22 that year.<sup>38</sup> After that time the lakeside settlement dropped from recorded history. Probably its inhabitants migrated to nearby Big Spring (Guebavi) sometime in the early 1740's during the mission concentration program, and very likely a lingering tendency for its natives to refer to themselves by this place name rather than *Ku Vaxia* gave rise to the later Spanish misconception that Guebavi was derived from *Ku Shu:tak*.

5. *Sopori*. Another middle Santa Cruz River Valley settlement whose northern Piman inhabitants migrated to Guebavi during the mid-18th century period of conversion to Christianity was Sopori, located on the creek of that name which enters the Santa Cruz from the west. This village was a visitation station from Guebavi Mission prior to the 1751 revolt. The burial of a native from Sopori was recorded in 1744.<sup>39</sup> Between that time and August of 1747 part if not all the Sopori Indians migrated to Guebavi. When another native of Sopori was buried at Guebavi on August 17th, he was identified by the officiating priest as "among those aggregated [to the neophytes here] from the Sopori."<sup>40</sup> That the pre-revolt migration did not entirely depopulate Sopori is suggested in a March 28, 1751, record of the baptism of an infant "from the Sopori"<sup>41</sup> and the fact that a Spanish officer lead-

35. Alphonse Louis Pinart (collector), *Libro de Baptismos de los Pueblos de Santa Maria Suamca. . . . desde 1732*, Coleccion de Pimeria Alta, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley (Cited hereafter as "Pinart B") f. 16.

36. Pinart B 20.

37. *Ibid.*, 27.

38. *Ibid.*, 29.

39. Guebavi E 48.

40. *Ibid.*, 51.

41. Guebavi B 93.

ing a scouting party north into hostile territory reconnoitered Sopori after the 1751 Piman revolt, finding dead beasts there and tracks leading to Aribaca.<sup>42</sup> Sopori seems to have been re-occupied after the revolt, since a mestizo child was born there in 1754.<sup>43</sup> By 1757, however, the Guebavi missionary was baptizing children from Sopori "aggregated to Guebavi,"<sup>44</sup> and the settlement had been abandoned by its aboriginal populace by 1762.<sup>45</sup>

6. *Upiatuban*. Another *rancheria* resettled at Guebavi before 1749 according to a northern Piman chief. In a statement before Spanish military authorities, Captain General Luis Oapicagigua<sup>46</sup> claimed credit for persuading the natives of Upiatuban to congregate at Guebavi Mission, in extolling his unappreciated services to the missionaries engaged in changing the lifeways of recalcitrant northern Piman countrymen.

7. *Konkuk*. The northern Piman leader also claimed credit for convincing the people of a settlement he called *Concuc* to congregate at Guebavi at some date prior to 1749.

8. *Calabazas*. Various sites within a small area on the middle Santa Cruz River were occupied by Mexican settlers in the early 19th century, but there had been a prior northern Piman Indian aboriginal occupation. In 1806 the surviving Indians at Tumacacori Mission petitioned Spanish authorities for a grant of lands of the "abandoned pueblo" of Calabazas, to be used for stock range.<sup>47</sup> Because of the proximity of the place termed "Calabazas" in recent years to the terrace-top

42. Joseph Fontes, *Diario de la marcha q. hizieron los Alferезes Dn Jph de fonttes y Dn Antto Olguin con la tropa de su cargo*. Terrenate, 25 de diciembre de 1751. Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara 419. Copy in Bancroft Library. f. 49.

43. Juan Maria Oliva, *Pie de Lista de la Tropa que guarneze dho Presidio con expresion de sus clases, nombres, edades, servicios, su proceder: caballos, mulas que cada Yndividuo tiene, con distin.zn de los buenos, medianos e inutilis*. No. 2 Real Presidio de Tubac. 13 de Agosto de 1775. Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara 515. Copy in Bancroft Library.

44. Guebavi B 110.

45. Nentvig, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

46. Luis Oapicagigua, *Declaracion*. San Ygnacio. 24 de marzo de 1752. Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara 419, f. 189. Copy in Bancroft Library.

47. Mattison, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

early historic site excavated by Dr. Charles C. DiPeso<sup>48</sup> which he inferred was the northern Piman village called *San Cayetano* by the pioneer missionary explorer Eusebio F. Kino, S. J., it is here assumed that Calabazas and San Cayetano were the same, even though Kino in 1691 associated *San Cayetano* with the Piman place name *Tumagacori*.<sup>49</sup> Joseph Agustín de Campos in 1726 simply recorded baptizing Indian infants at "San Cayetano."<sup>50</sup> Whether or not DiPeso's "San Cayetano" was the same as "Calabazas," both clearly were depopulated and abandoned, probably within the 18th century, and the 1806 petition suggests that survivors ended up in the amalgamated Tumacacori population.

9. *Toacuquita*. Before the Indians of Calabazas moved, they received a sizable increment in population from yet another settlement on November 1, 1756. The missionary then at Guebavi recorded<sup>51</sup> baptizing on that day eighty "adults of the Rancheria of Doaquita today aggregated to the Calabazas." If there were eighty adult migrants, there should have been at least as many children (although under disease conditions then prevailing, there may not have been) suggesting an increment of about 160 persons at Calabazas in 1756, and indicating the extent of depopulation that was to occur in the middle Santa Cruz River Valley by the time only Tumacacori remained inhabited.

Missionaries from Guebavi had recorded people living at Toacuquita in 1750,<sup>52</sup> and in 1741.<sup>53</sup> The people of this settlement were probably mountain dwellers prior to their migration to Calabazas, since their village name begins with the Piman word *toak* for mountain.

There were several additional northern Piman Indian settlements in the middle Santa Cruz River Valley during pre-

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48. Charles C. DiPeso, *The Upper Pima of San Cayetano del Tumacacori* (Dragoon: Amerind Foundation, 1956).

49. Bolton (1948) *op. cit.*, V. I, p. 119.

50. Pinart A 59.

51. Guebavi B 109.

52. *Ibid.*, 91.

53. *Ibid.*, 6.

historic and into historic times which were abandoned during the middle third of the 18th century as their dwindling populations amalgamated with the people in the places mentioned already. The date when the final inhabitants left these places for the surviving settlements cannot be set for lack of documentation, but their documented existence during the early contact period accentuates the demographic trend of depopulation and settlement consolidation.

10. *Aquituni*. People from this settlement between Sopori and Arivaca were met by missionaries from Guebavi at least as early as 1742, since they performed a marriage of natives from *Vupquituni*,<sup>54</sup> then. In 1748 the missionaries baptized children from *Aquituni*.<sup>55</sup> The aboriginal inhabitants abandoned Aquituni in the aftermath of the Piman Revolt, and it was not occupied when a Spanish scouting party passed through on December 27, 1751, en route from Sopori to Arivaca.<sup>56</sup> No record of its being reoccupied after the revolt has been found, so its population presumably was absorbed into the other settlements that did re-form after the pacification.

11. *Xona*. The priest who spent more time converting northern Piman Indians to Catholicism than any other man, Joseph Agustin de Campos, S. J., recorded on one of his trips northward from his San Ignacio Mission that on February 28, 1724, "A little above Guebavi where I was stopped, they brought me from *Xona*" a child to baptize.<sup>57</sup> Returning on March 11th, Campos baptized half a dozen individuals from this settlement.<sup>58</sup> Campos appears to have spoken Piman extremely well, and converted it into Spanish orthography better than any other Spaniard, so if he wrote *Xona*, there was a settlement with that name, and this term cannot be correlated with Concuc (*kon* or *kaun kuk*, "—standing"). The people of *Xona* appear to have migrated, probably

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54. Guebavi C 15.

55. Guebavi B 85.

56. Fontes *op. cit.*, f. 49.

57. Pinart A 45.

58. *Ibid.*, 48.



to Guebavi or to have died out prior to the arrival of resident missionaries in 1732.<sup>59</sup>

12. *Bacarica*. In 1699 the explorer-priest, Kino, counted forty northern Piman Indian houses in a *rancheria* he called San Luys del Bacoancos.<sup>60</sup> Two years earlier his military escort, Manje, reported ninety persons there.<sup>61</sup> On March 12, 1724, Kino's hardy collaborator Campos baptized fourteen Indians at *Bacarica*<sup>62</sup> which is here assumed, perhaps on insufficient grounds, to have been the same place. In 1726 Campos again baptized a person from this settlement.<sup>63</sup> Then it apparently dropped from written records, its population either extinct or amalgamated to some other.

13. *The San Pedro River Valley*. The pitiful remnant of northern Piman Indians who survived at Tumacacori Mission by the end of the 17th century represented not only the meager remains of a once flourishing Indian population of the middle Santa Cruz River Valley, but also a large number from the San Pedro River Valley to the east. It is impossible to identify which San Pedro River Valley aboriginal settlements contributed to the surviving populace since the Sobaipuri withdrawal from the San Pedro in 1762 caught the Spaniards so by surprise that most details went unrecorded. All that can be said here is that the Sobaipuris did contribute some persons to the middle Santa Cruz River Valley settlements in 1762 since there were approximately 400 refugees roaming among the various Santa Cruz Valley villages besides the 250 who settled at Tucson and some others settled at Santa Maria Soamca.<sup>64</sup>

14. *The Desert Papagos*. As the native riverine Indians perished in epidemics and endemic disease mortality and Apache raids, they were partially replaced in the Spanish

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59. Hammond, *op. cit.*, p. 224, 229.

60. Bolton (1948) *op. cit.*, V. I, p. 204.

61. Karns, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

62. Pinart A 48-49.

63. *Ibid.*, 59.

64. Francisco Elias Gonzales, Informe al Señor Gobernador Don Joseph Tienda de Cuerdo, 22 de Marzo de 1762. Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara 511. Copy in Bancroft Library.

missions by Papago neophytes from the deserts. Underhill<sup>65</sup> noted that Apache attacks influenced modern Gila River Pima and Papago distribution greatly because "the desert Papagos seeped in" to take the place of their extinct relatives. It should be emphasized that disease mortality was much higher than war casualties. San Ignacio, Magdalena, Bac and Tucson received heavy increments of Papago converts during the 18th century, and the middle Santa Cruz River Valley missions were no exception. Many of the 103 residents of Tumacacori enumerated in 1796 were identified as Papagos.<sup>66</sup>

It is, therefore, necessary to keep in mind that the total depopulation of the middle Santa Cruz Valley wiped out not merely the local northern Piman population, but also additional contingents of unknown size from both the San Pedro River Valley to the east, and the semi-desert Papaguera to the west.

#### Extent of Depopulation

The native Indian population of the middle Santa Cruz River Valley vanished between roughly 1700 and 1850, the major reduction occurring by 1800. The extent of depopulation has been indicated in the preceding outline of the documented history of settlement amalgamation which contributed to the survival of just one of the enduring northern Piman villages on this river, Bac. At least a dozen settlements existed in the middle valley during the first quarter of the 18th century, but only one remained at the end of that century, even with reinforcements brought from the San Pedro River and the desert to the west beyond the immediate Santa Cruz valley.

This pattern of settlement amalgamation occurred in every part of northern Piman territory for which records are available. Fifteen or more San Pedro River Valley settle-

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65. Ruth Murray, *Social Organization of the Papago Indians* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939) p. 23.

66. Whiting, *op. cit.*

ments existing in 1700 provided the remnant that in 1762 reinforced Tucson, the middle Santa Cruz River Valley, and Santa Maria Suamca (whose population fled to Cocospera, Sonora, in 1768). Tucson and Bac were by 1800 the only lower Santa Cruz River Valley survivors of at least nine settlements there in 1700.<sup>67</sup> Cocospera was the only survivor of at least six 1700 settlements in the headwaters of the San Miguel River Valley. Four 1700 settlements in the Avra Valley had combined with others by 1800.

The rate of documented amalgamation was lower farther west, but this probably is a function of less documentation for that area, since the process clearly operated there. By 1749 Tubutama Mission contained resettled populations from at least five other settlements. Santa Teresa contained at least one other; Ati two others, Oquitoa one other,<sup>68</sup> Saric nine others of which three could muster over 1,200 persons in 1700.<sup>69</sup>

There were more aboriginal settlements in Papagueria in 1700, in other words, than there are villages and *rancherías* there today.

*Estimation of Numbers.* The decrease in settlement numbers just described can be translated at least approximately into population estimates. The northern Piman Indians seem to have considered a community of 200 to 300 persons as desirable under the conditions of life obtaining during the late 17th and early 18th centuries, and about 100 persons as absolute minimum. Underhill<sup>70</sup> worked out the 1850-60 population of Kuitatk, an amalgamated "defense" village in central Papago territory, at about 300. The forty houses Kino counted at Bacarica in 1699<sup>71</sup> suggest a population of 120 to 200 Indians (using conversion factors of three or five for average family size). Five northern Pimans per house was a ratio observed in 1697 at several settlements where both

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67. Dobyns (1962) *op. cit.*, p. 27.

68. Oapicagigua, *op. cit.*, f. 188v.

69. Bolton (1948), *op. cit.*, V. I, p. 119, 275.

70. Underhill, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

71. Bolton (1948), *op. cit.*, V. I, p. 204.

houses and population were reported: Santa Catalina de *Kuitatkekam* on the lower Santa Cruz River,<sup>72</sup> *Gu Oidak*<sup>73</sup> and Quiburi on the San Pedro.<sup>74</sup> The northern San Pedro River village had 5.4 persons per house, but others on that stream had: 4.4 at *Jiaspi*,<sup>75</sup> 4.0 at *Haiwan Pit*<sup>76</sup> and 3.5 at Cusac.<sup>77</sup> San Agustín de A'ot on the lower Santa Cruz had 4.2.<sup>78</sup>

The Jesuit missionary in charge of the visitation stations among the Sobaipuris on the San Pedro River noted on April 2, 1743, that all the people at Vafcomarig (*Vav*-“rock,”<sup>79</sup> *Komalik*-“flat”<sup>80</sup>) had joined those at *Baijcat* because of Apache hostilities, as he put it. The combined settlement contained 132 men and 138 women<sup>81</sup> or a total of 270 persons. Since the priest seems to have counted adults only, the total population could have been 500 to 600.

This historically recorded instance of settlement amalgamation on the San Pedro furnishes one index to the northern Piman Indian view of the size below which a village population could not be allowed to fall, on the hostile Apache frontier. In 1735 the same missionary had counted fifty-six men and fifty-six women at *Vav Komalik*,<sup>82</sup> a total of 112 individuals. The priest's terminology implied he listed only adults so the total population may have been between 225 and 275. There were eight years between 1735 and the 1743 record of the amalgamation at *Baijcat* for the *Vav Komalik* population to fall. If depopulation was proceeding there at a rate comparable to that in Guebavi Mission, a 1735 population of 250 would have dropped to between 160 and 180 by 1743, when amalgamation occurred.

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72. Karns, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

73. *Ibid.*, p. 82.

74. *Ibid.*, p. 78.

75. *Ibid.*, p. 80.

76. *Ibid.*, p. 77.

77. *Ibid.*, p. 80.

78. *Ibid.*, p. 92.

79. Lumholtz, *op. cit.*, p. 386; Underhill, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

80. Underhill, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

81. Pinart B 14.

82. *Ibid.*

There is confirmation of this as the critical settlement size in northern Piman eyes in the number of Toacuquita migrants to Guebavi in 1756. That amalgamation brought eighty adults to Guebavi,<sup>83</sup> implying a total migration of 200 or more persons (using factors of 2.5 or higher to estimate total population from recorded adults). That the ideal settlement was even larger is indicated by the 250 Sobaipuris settling at Tucson in 1762,<sup>84</sup> combining with an existing population there. Since the *Toacuquita* amalgamation with the Guebavi Indians represented a presumably Spanish-influenced migration to a mission, the *Vav Komalik* consolidation with the *Baijcat* people, and the general Sobaipuri settlement at Tucson probably represent the most valid available measure of northern Piman Indian ideas of settlement ideal size and practice. In each case, the ideal fairly clearly exceeded 200 individuals by some margin, and practice seems to have been to amalgamate before total population dropped much below 200.

*Early Contact Period Population.* The recorded populations of northern Piman Indian communities around 1700 provides some further indication of their population prior to 18th century decline. In the middle Santa Cruz River Valley under discussion, Tumacacori had 150 people in 1697 and Bacarica had ninety in that year,<sup>85</sup> but forty houses in 1699, so that count may have under-enumerated, and Guebavi had ninety in 1699.<sup>86</sup> The average 1697-1699 population of these three settlements was 110 persons or more.

On the lower reaches of this stream, San Clemente and Santa Catalina Cuytoabagum (*Kui Toak ekam*) numbered 1,000 in November of 1699,<sup>87</sup> San Agustin 800 in 1697,<sup>88</sup> and Bac 900 in 1697.<sup>89</sup> The average population of these four set-

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83. Guebavi B 109.

84. Elias Gonzales, *op. cit.*

85. Karns, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

86. Bolton (1948) *op. cit.*, V. I, p. 204.

87. Karns, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

88. *Ibid.*, p. 92.

89. Excluding a 1,300 figure in 1699 because other settlements were probably represented in it (*ibid.*, p. 93, 137).

tlements appears to have been 675 persons. There also existed at that time four unnamed settlements between Bac and San Agustin, so the average population of all eight was at least 387 individuals without allowing any additional for the unnamed settlements.

On the lower San Pedro River, six settlements where the population was reported in 1697 had 120, 70, 500, 100, 80 and 380 persons,<sup>90</sup> for a total of 1,250 and an average of 208. On the upper San Pedro two riverine villages contained 500 and 100 in 1697,<sup>91</sup> and an upland settlement eighty, a total of 680 and an average of 226 for an ecological unit quite comparable to the middle Santa Cruz River Valley area where both riverine and upland settlements evidently contributed to the final few survivors.

These figures, regardless of whatever errors in sampling and reporting they might contain, clearly show—since they were reported by the same observers, whose biases should have at least been consistent—that northern Piman Indian settlement size varied by region along the streams used for irrigation, so it may not be possible to project averages for other regions to estimate the middle Santa Cruz Valley population. These figures also show a consistent pattern of a few large villages or towns of 500 population and over, and numerous smaller *rancherías* ranging in population from about seventy to 120 persons. It is very important to know whether the middle Santa Cruz River Valley population included residents of one town, or only *rancherías*. Tumacacori's 150 may have been the largest single center. The middle Santa Cruz River Valley may have lacked a more urban center. Assuming that to have been the case, one might utilize the average population figure of 110 persons obtained above for the known dozen settlements which existed in the area prior to 1700 to obtain a population estimate of 1,320 persons.

It is difficult to believe, on the other hand, that the mid-

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90. *Ibid.*, p. 80, 82-83.

91. *Ibid.*, p. 77-78.

dle Santa Cruz River Valley lacked at least one town in pre-conquest times. The site excavated by DiPeso would seem to have been one such town. The size of the migration from *Toacuquita* to Calabazas in itself indicates that the mountain settlement was larger than Tumacacori. Assuming, then, that at least one town existed in this region, an average settlement size of 200 may be assumed as a conservative figure, being lower than the 208 for the lower or 226 for the upper San Pedro River, and much lower than the 387+ lower Santa Cruz average. If the twelve settlements known to have existed on the middle Santa Cruz River Valley and its hinterland in 1700 averaged 200 population, the total aboriginal populace of the region reached 2,400. This estimate accords with evidence presented above as the northern Piman view of ideal settlement size that brought on migration and amalgamation of communities.

*Depopulation Ratio.* Since it is known that only the fewer than 100 northern Piman Indian survivors at Tumacacori Mission remained in the middle Santa Cruz River Valley area in 1800, it is possible to estimate the extent of Indian depopulation in this area during the 18th century as 23/24ths of the 1700 population. Since this estimate does not take into account the Sobaipuri and Papago increments which entered the region to die during the 18th century, it must be considered a conservative estimate applying only to this immediate region. In other words, where more than twenty-four natives lived in 1700, only one remained alive in 1800. The depopulation ratio was over twenty-four to one.

## Book Reviews

*The Indian Traders.* By Frank McNitt. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962. Pp. xiv, 393. Illustration, maps, bibliography, index. \$5.95.

Students of New Mexico history are greatly indebted to Frank McNitt and the University of Oklahoma Press for this remarkable volume. Concentration upon the area of Northwest New Mexico and Northeast Arizona, entirely unexpected in view of the book's general title, must delight scholars of the Southwest as much as it will discourage many who have been led to expect an account of more general scope and significance. Yet not even a subtitle warns a prospective reader that the author's definition of Indian trade is so constituted that anyone who dealt with tribes elsewhere is eliminated as not really an Indian trader.

Except for an initial brief and unessential description of trade conducted in the area before 1868, the author confines his account to the post-Civil War period. The documentation is most commendable and is correctly located at the point of reference. Previous research is marshalled most effectively. The local press, magazine articles, historical monographs, have all been employed. But as the detailed bibliography and reading of the text reveal, great reliance is also placed upon intelligent use of interviews, a device which altogether too many students of relatively contemporary history ignore. An account, otherwise quite dull, is often brought to life by the personal touches of reminiscence. Particularly rewarding and most unusual are references based upon Indian Office records in the National Archives. This material adds so much to the volume that one can only urge that this superb treasure house of documents, extremely well indexed and preserved for the period covered, will be used more often by others.

*The Indian Traders*, though chaotically organized and unevenly written, should be of tremendous value to students



of Navajo history. Even they should find value in frequent reference to a map of the reservation area (pp. 8-9). The detail of post construction and surrounding topography, meaningless in large part for the non-specialist, should add significant material for specialists. The myriad names involved in tracing the frequently changing ownership of this post and of that will have importance locally through the minuteness of their recital. More value will be found by those less familiar with the region in the long portion devoted to individuals such as Lorenzo Hubbell and Thomas Keam and in general chapters on trading regulations, posts and contractors. From it all will emerge the contributions of many men, some of whom will come alive, to the progress of a remote region in the days before the automobile. How their families lived, the dangers they faced, the achievements they made, will become clear. Their story is worth telling.

Although, to be thorough in the face of varying types of material, the author found it necessary to abandon any overall consistency in chronological or analytical narrative, the result is greatly to be praised. Other areas of the United States will benefit, if individuals, however removed from the author's precise definition of Indian traders, receive similar treatment. From such studies may some day emerge a work on the significance of Indian trade and traders generally. If so, that author will owe much to this excellent trail-blazer.

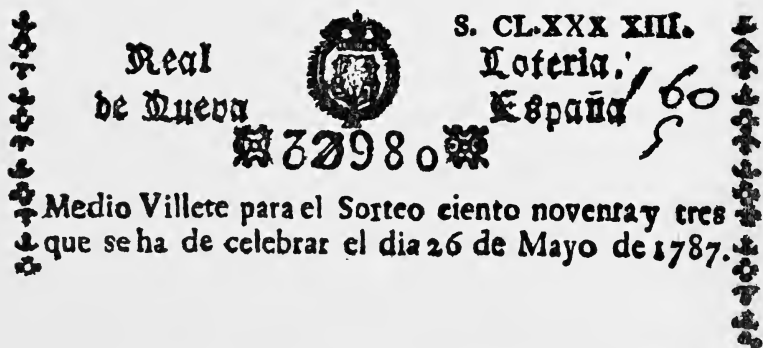
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#### ERRATA

Vol. 38, No. 1, p. 22, l. 14, should read: A. A. Jones of New Mexico. No. 1, p. 78, line 20, should read: Fray Silvestre Vélez de Escalante.

Notes and Documents



Almost anything can turn up in a book, and this half-ticket for the one hundred and ninety-third drawing of the Royal Lottery of New Spain was found in a highly respectable vellum-bound volume belonging to the Van de Velde Collection of the University of New Mexico Library. An earlier reader of Ribadeneyra's treatise on the Royal Patronage, published in Madrid in 1775, seems to have used it for a bookmark. Could this have been one of the gentlemen whose names appear on the following inscription on the flyleaf? "This book belonged to Canon Ribarrada, but now it belongs to Antonio Campos y Basabilbaso." We might have left it at that, but Mr. Ron Benes, one of Dr. Reeve's graduate students, inspired by a proper desire to know whether anyone had missed out on anything, flew to consult the appropriate issue of the *Gaceta de México*. He has relieved our minds by reporting that No. 3,980 does not appear to have been a top winner in the drawing of May 26, 1787, although No. 3,378, held by a resident of Puebla, won the seventh prize of 1,000 pesos and caused great rejoicing in the City of the Angels.

ELEANOR B. ADAMS

For those interested in a lottery of the above period see: Lucius Wilmerding, Jr. "The United States Lottery," *The New York Historical Society Quarterly*, Vol. XLVII, pp. 5-39 (Jan., 1963).

F. D. R.

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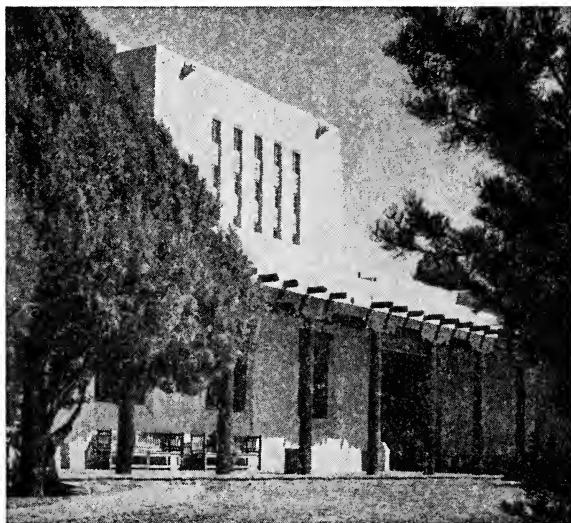
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*July, 1963*

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Vol. XXXVIII

July, 1963

No. 3

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## CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Major Long's Route from the Arkansas to the Canadian River, 1820	
John M. Tucker . . . . .	185
John J. Pershing: Frontier Cavalryman	
Donald Smythe, S. J. . . . .	220
The Sheep Industry in Arizona, 1903	
Frank D. Reeve, <i>editor</i> . . . . .	244
Notes and Documents . . . . .	253
Errata . . . . .	253
Book Reviews . . . . .	254

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BLACK TAIL DEER.

FIG. 2. Sketch of the black tail deer made by Titian Kamsay Peale the evening of August 1, 1820. In the background is a depiction of a butte, sketched by Peale the following morning when Major Long's party passed the four buttes in the valley of Ute Creek near present-day Bueyeros, Harding County, New Mexico. (Mr. Richard H. Sturrock Librarian of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, has kindly granted per-



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## MAJOR LONG'S ROUTE FROM THE ARKANSAS TO THE CANADIAN RIVER, 1820

By JOHN M. TUCKER\*

In the early history of the United States, first-hand knowledge of the vast reaches of the Rocky Mountain region was almost solely the possession of trappers and fur traders. The history of scientific exploration and research in this region may be considered to date from the expedition of Lewis and Clark. Developments came about slowly, however, despite the growth of commercial trade via the Santa Fe Trail from the early 1820's onward. It was not until the 1840's, with their numerous government-sponsored expeditions and surveys, that scientific knowledge began to grow apace.

Of the earliest official expeditions to the West, the one to the Rocky Mountains in 1820 under the command of Major Stephen H. Long is well-known to students of early western history. Although perhaps not so widely known to the general public as the expeditions of Lewis and Clark or Pike, its accomplishments were, nevertheless, substantial and noteworthy. A journal of the expedition was published in 1823 by Dr. Edwin James, the botanist and geologist of the party.<sup>1</sup>

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\* Associate Professor of Botany, University of California, Davis.

1. Edwin James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains Performed in the Years 1819, 1820*. This was published in Philadelphia in 1823 (Carey and Lea), then, with occasional but trivial changes, in London (Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown) the same year. This will be cited hereafter as "*James, Account*," the Philadelphia edition being the one quoted.

Augustus Edward Jessup was originally appointed geologist of the expedition, but he remained with the group during the first season (1819) only, and so did not make the trip to the Rockies in 1820.

This is a compilation to which several other members of the expedition contributed, notably Major Long himself, and Thomas Say, the zoologist. It comprises a record of daily events, the itinerary of the party, and observations on weather conditions, the flora and fauna, topography, and geology of the country through which they passed. Until recently this was the only narrative of the expedition, and consequently it has been the principal source of information available to students of this period.<sup>2</sup>

Portions of James' itinerary are seemingly quite sketchy and indefinite. For this reason some writers on early western explorations have been quite critical of the expedition and its published records. Chittenden, for example, was quite severe: "The route from the time the party left the South Platte until they arrived at the Canadian is extremely difficult to follow except along the Arkansas. It would be scarcely possible to find in any narrative of Western history so careless an itinerary, and in a scientific report like that of Dr. James, it is quite inexcusable."<sup>3</sup> Similar sentiments (although expressed somewhat less harshly) have been echoed by a number of later writers.<sup>4</sup> A more sympathetic appraisal of the expedi-

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2. Much additional information on the Long expedition has become available with the recent publication of "The Journal of Captain John R. Bell" (edited and with introductions by Harlin M. Fuller and LeRoy R. Hafen; Arthur H. Clark Co., Glendale, Calif., 1957. This is Vol. VI in "The Far West and the Rockies Historical Series," LeRoy Hafen, ed.). Captain Bell, the official journalist for the expedition, parted company with Long on the Arkansas River, however, and the present account is concerned with Long's route southward to the Canadian River.

I have also consulted a microfilm of Edwin James' "Diary and Journal Notes, 1820-1827" (Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley; original in the Columbia University Library, New York). This is a diary which James kept while on Long's expedition to the Rockies and after its return while he was writing the narrative of the expedition. Regular entries, with some gaps, extend from March 22, 1820, to January 9, 1823. Also included is a narrative of his service as an army surgeon in Minnesota and Iowa, 1824-1827. This will be cited hereafter as "James, *Diary*."

3. Hiram M. Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West* (Academic Reprints, Stanford, Calif., 1954), Vol. 2, p. 578.

4. Reuben G. Thwaites, *Early Western Travels 1748-1846* (Cleveland, 1905). Volumes 14-17 of this work represent a reprint of the London edition of James, *Account*, with occasional editorial comment by Thwaites; E. W. Gilbert, *The Exploration of Western America, 1800-1850: an Historical Geography* (Cambridge, England, 1933); W. H. Goetzmann, *Army Exploration in the American West 1803-1863* (New Haven, 1959).

tion has recently been given by Poesch.<sup>5</sup> It may be noted, also, that scientific contemporaries of Long's group seem to have been more understanding. Thus, the botanist, John Torrey, who worked up a large part of Edwin James' plant collections, acknowledged the extreme difficulties under which the labors of the expedition were performed.<sup>6</sup>

There can be no gainsaying the fact that Long failed in considerable degree to accomplish the major objectives of exploration with which he had been charged. On the other hand, even the most casual reading of James' *Account* impresses one with the privations and hardships frequently suffered by Long's party, especially in crossing the region with which we are concerned—extreme hunger and thirst, apprehension of encounters with hostile Indians, and lack of adequate protection from the elements. Under such conditions it is scarcely to be wondered that their devotion to science and duty might occasionally have been compromised by the urge simply to survive—to get back to civilization alive. Furthermore, the criticism that better results should have been produced by "men like Long, Graham, and, especially, Edwin James, . . ." and the thesis that these men were "experts whose qualifications were the best available"<sup>7</sup> would seem to be debatable. The latter characterization may have applied to Long, himself, and to Thomas Say, the zoologist, but as for most of the others who finally set off for the Rockies, such a statement is badly out of focus. Edwin James was only 22 at the time he joined the expedition, and although a young man of considerable promise, was certainly not an es-

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5. Jessie Poesch, "Titian Ramsay Peale 1799-1885, and His Journals of the Wilkes Expedition," *Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society* (Philadelphia, 1961), Vol. 52.

6. John Torrey, "Some account of a collection of plants made during a journey to and from the Rocky Mountains in the summer of 1820, by Edwin P. James, M.D., Assistant Surgeon U.S. Army," *Annals of the Lyceum of Natural History of New York*, Vol. 2, pp. 161-254 (1828): ". . . As this extensive tract of country [lying between the Arkansas and the Canadian] was traversed with great rapidity, and the party was exposed to great hardships and privations, little opportunity was afforded of making observations, or even of recording all the stations of the plants; and many of the specimens, owing to the same unfavorable circumstances, are injured or incomplete," pp. 161-162.

7. Goetzmann, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

tablished "expert" in any professional sense, either botanically or geologically.<sup>8</sup> It may be noted that several other members of the expedition, James D. Graham, William H. Swift, and Titian R. Peale, were even younger than James.<sup>9</sup>

The accomplishments of the expedition, in the fields of zoology and botany at least, were moderately substantial. Even so, one can only speculate on what they might have achieved had they had support from the government commensurate with the importance of their undertaking: more pack animals, better protection for their precious collections (both from the elements and from the roughness of the journey) and above all, simply more *time*<sup>10</sup> which would have enabled them to collect and prepare more specimens of the new and fascinating flora and fauna of the country through which they passed. For surely it was factors such as these in far greater measure than "lack of techniques for investigation"<sup>11</sup> that so often hampered their efforts and limited their productiveness.

It is not the purpose of this study, however, to evaluate in detail the accomplishments or shortcomings of Long's expedition. My objective, rather, is to clarify Long's route on his march southward from the Arkansas in search of the Red River. The party's itinerary, as noted by Chittenden, is indeed difficult to follow at times, especially in the region between the Arkansas and the Canadian. Nevertheless, some very good clues to their line of march are to be found in James' geological observations in his *Account*—clues which heretofore apparently no one has attempted to exploit. Inasmuch as an extensive survey of the geology of northeastern

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8. James was born August 27, 1797, and joined Long's expedition in the spring of 1820. See C. C. Parry, "Dr. Edwin James," *American Journal of Science*, Ser. 2, Vol. 33, pp. 428-430 (1862).

9. Cf. Thwaites, *op. cit.*, Vol. 14, pp. 40-41.

10. As noted by Poesch (*op. cit.*, p. 27), during the first summer (1819) William Baldwin, the botanist (who died Aug. 31, 1819), "questioned the possibility of the naturalists being able to accomplish much on an expedition of this sort" inasmuch as "their orders demanded that they push forward so steadily."

11. As Goetzmann (*op. cit.*, p. 44) expressed it.

New Mexico has recently been published,<sup>12</sup> a basis is now at hand for correlating many of James' observations with existing geological formations in this region.

This study began with an attempt to determine the type locality of the first oak to be described from the Rocky Mountain region, *Quercus undulata*. This species was named and described by the (then) rising young botanist, John Torrey, in 1828,<sup>13</sup> on the basis of a collection by James. The type locality (i.e., the site of collection of James' specimen), as stated by Torrey, was "sources of the Canadian and the Rocky Mountains." Obviously, this is highly indefinite, although perhaps little else could have been expected in such a poorly known and essentially uncharted region. Thus, in any attempt to establish this locality, it was necessary, first of all, to determine Major Long's—and, of course, Edwin James'—route as accurately as possible. In this attempt, the evidences provided by a close study of James' *Diary* and his published *Account*—particularly his observations on the geology and topography of the country—have gone far toward clarifying the party's itinerary. Furthermore, a generally held misconception has been revealed in regard to one major detail of Long's route across this region. It would seem worthwhile, therefore, to put these findings on record.

The route followed by Major Long's party, as it has been worked out from the available evidence (Fig. 1), can be described quite briefly. Following a brief, categorical descrip-

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12. Brewster Baldwin and William R. Muehlberger, "Geologic Studies of Union County, New Mexico," *New Mexico Bureau of Mines, Bull. 63* (Socorro, 1959).

I have also had the benefit of extended and very helpful conferences with Dr. Baldwin and Dr. Muehlberger, the former at Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vermont, September 11, 1961; the latter at the University of Texas, Austin, September 13, 1961. Dr. Elmer H. Baltz, Geologist, U. S. Geological Survey, Ground Water Branch, Albuquerque, New Mexico, whose knowledge of northeastern New Mexico is also very extensive, has been most helpful on several occasions. Others who have been consulted on matters of geology or geography are: Dr. Charles J. Mankin, Dept. of Geology, University of Oklahoma; Mr. Zane Spiegel, Research and Development Division, New Mexico Institute of Mining and Technology, Socorro; and Mr. Sherman E. Galloway, Engineer, Technical Division, New Mexico State Engineer Office, Roswell.

13. Torrey, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

tion, I shall document my statements with a more extended discussion, pointing out particularly any views which differ from those generally expressed by earlier authors.

Major Long's party crossed the region between the Arkansas River and the Canadian in the twelve days from July 24 to August 4, 1820, judging by James' *Account*. Disregarding distances traveled on individual days, their general route was as follows:

The group left the Arkansas near the present community of Rocky Ford, Otero County, Colorado, approximately 36 miles upstream from the confluence of the Purgatoire River, traveled southward to the latter stream, ascended it for a few miles, and then turned up a tributary from the southeast. In all probability this was Chacuaco Creek. Following the canyon of this stream to its upper reaches, they emerged onto the plain just west of the Mesa de Maya. They continued in a general southerly direction to near the present Colorado-New Mexico state line, skirted to the west of some high, rough hills, and descended to the Dry Cimarrón River, in northwestern Union County, New Mexico, possibly by way of Tollgate Canyon, but not by way of Long's Canyon. Proceeding southward from the Cimarrón, the party traversed the high plain to the east and southeast of Sierra Grande. In doing so they crossed the headwaters of Travesser Creek, the ultimate sources of the North Canadian River, and, still farther south, Carrizo Creek—along this line of march all were insignificant creeks. On July 30, the party struck Ute Creek in present southwestern Union County, a short distance downstream from the present crossing of U. S. Highway 56. On the next day, they continued down Ute Creek, but on August 1, remained in their camp to rest. Resuming their journey on August 2, they continued down Ute Creek, and on August 4 arrived at the Canadian River. Thus, contrary to a widely held view, the party did not descend Major Long's Creek (or Punta de Agua) to the Canadian, but rather, Ute Creek.

Major Long's itinerary will now be presented at greater

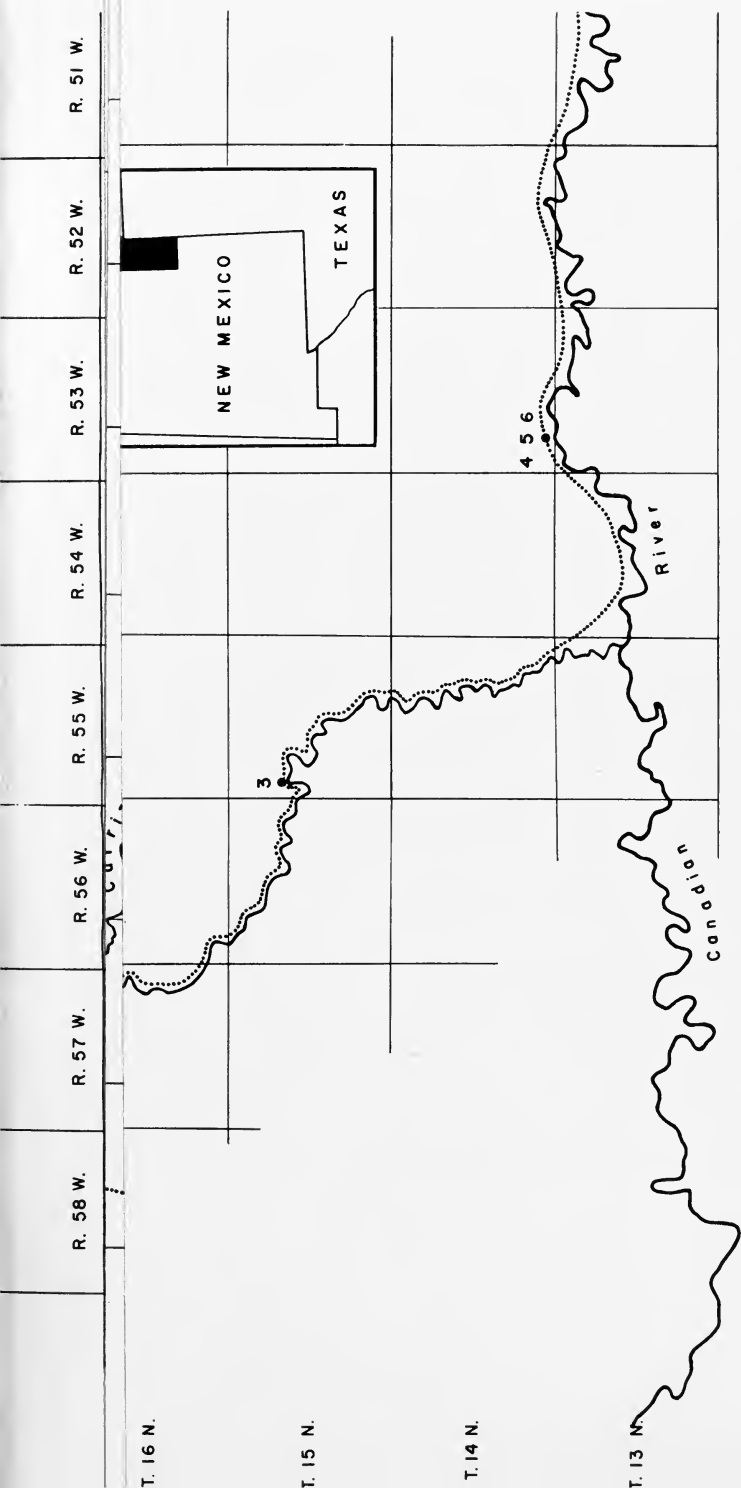


Fig. 1. The route of Major Long's party from the Arkansas River to the Canadian, July-August, 1820. (The squares are present-day townships, ordinarily six miles on a side. The location of the area of this map is shown in black on the small inset map at lower right.)





length, beginning while the expedition was heading away from the mountains and descending the Arkansas, several days before Long's departure from that stream:

*July 20*

The party broke camp at 5 a.m. and soon afterwards passed the mouth of a stream which, in all probability, was the Huerfano River.<sup>14</sup> They traveled 26 miles that day.<sup>15</sup>

*July 21*

Arising at 5 a.m., and having descended the Arkansas for "six or eight miles," according to James, they encountered an Indian and his squaw who were heading for the mountains. "At our request," James' *Account* continues, "the Kas-kaia and his squaw returned with us several miles, to point out a place suitable for fording the Arkansas. . . . At ten o'clock we arrived at the ford. . . ." <sup>16</sup>

They made camp at the ford, remaining there the rest of the day, as well as July 22 and 23. Here they made preparations for separating into two groups, following a predetermined plan. One group, under Captain John R. Bell, was to descend the Arkansas to Fort Smith. The second group (including Dr. James), under Major Long, was to head southward in an attempt to locate and explore the headwaters of the Red River.

On the basis of the estimated distances given in James' *Account*, this camp would probably have been somewhere between 34 and 36 miles downstream from the confluence of the Huerfano (26 minus one, or 25, say, for July 20; plus "6 or 8," and an additional "several"—say 3—miles for July 21; total: 34 to 36 miles). Any attempt to plot this distance on a map gives, at best, only a rough approximation of the location of their camp. In any event, 34 to 36 miles below the mouth of the Huerfano would place them 2 to 4 miles below the present community of Rocky Ford, Otero County. Chit-

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14. Thwaites, *op. cit.*, Vol. 16, footnote p. 62.

15. James, *Account*, Vol. 2, p. 59.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 61.

tenden supposed this camp to be "in the vicinity of the present town of La Junta."<sup>17</sup> Thwaites, however, taking note of their distances travelled after passing the Huerfano, surmised that their camp must have been several miles up the Arkansas above the site of La Junta.<sup>18</sup>

A much less equivocal basis for determining the location of this camp is provided by the compass readings taken by the party while encamped at the ford: Pike's Peak,<sup>19</sup> north, 68° west; and the West Spanish Peak, south, 40° west. Then, if we take into account the magnetic declination of 131½° east of true north which James recorded a few days later<sup>20</sup> in taking some other readings, the position of their camp can be readily plotted on a map. Whatever shortcomings their figures for latitude and (especially) longitude may have had,<sup>21</sup> a compass—as long as the needle was free to turn on its pivot—would give results the accuracy of which would be limited only by the skill and carefulness of the person making the readings.<sup>22</sup> Considering James' statement that these observations "received the most minute and careful attention,"<sup>23</sup> there would seem to be no valid reason to mistrust them. Using a large steel straight-edge and a heavy steel protractor, I plotted their position on U.S. Geological Survey Map, "State of Colorado," Scale 1:500,000, Edition of 1956. The resulting locus was slightly less than ½ mile west of, and

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17. Chittenden, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 577.

18. Thwaites, *op. cit.*, Vol. 16, footnote p. 62.

19. Referred to in James, *Account* as "James' Peak," a name applied by Major Long after James' successful ascent of the peak on July 14, 1820 (See Thwaites, *op. cit.*, Vol. 16, footnote p. 36).

20. On July 27: James, *Account*, Vol. 2, p. 77.

The magnetic declination would almost certainly have been determined simply by taking the deviation of their compass reading for magnetic north from a reading on the north star, Polaris.

21. See Chittenden, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 588.

22. Except insofar as any iron ore deposits might be present in the region, which, of course, would affect a compass. This possibility seems quite remote, however, for what few iron ore deposits are recorded for Colorado, are far to the west of their location. (See Martha S. Carr and Carl E. Dutton, "Iron-Ore Resources of the United States Including Alaska and Puerto Rico, 1955," *U. S. Geological Survey Bulletin 1082-C*, 1959, Table 4, p. 97, and map: Plate 2).

23. James, *Account*, Vol. 2, p. 66.

approximately  $2\frac{3}{4}$  miles north of the ford on the Arkansas.<sup>24</sup> To this extent, therefore, my plotted location must be in error, for Captain Bell stated in his journal that the expedition camped "on the margin of the river, where is good fording place."<sup>25</sup> Nevertheless, this locus is a clear indication that the historic ford on the Arkansas near the present community of Rocky Ford was the point of departure of Major Long's party when he began his journey southward in search of the Red River.<sup>26</sup>

### July 24

The party divided. One group, under Captain John R. Bell, was to continue down the Arkansas. The other group (including Edwin James), under Major Long, was to head southward in an attempt to explore the headwaters of the Red River. The latter party crossed the Arkansas and pro-

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24. I am indebted to Mr. Garth W. Grenard, County Clerk and Recorder of Otero County, who has indicated for me the exact location of this ford. (Correspondence with G. W. Grenard, July 25, 1962).

25. Fuller and Hafen, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

In using maps printed on paper, minor errors in plotting are to be expected, because the paper is not scale-stable, various parts may shrink or stretch differently. This problem has been partly solved in modern cartography by compiling maps on scale-stable plastics such as "mylar." Such materials have very few volatile constituents and thus do not "dry out." Elmer H. Baltz.

26. It may be noted that several other authors have placed the site of the division of the party near Rocky Ford: P. S. Fritz, *Colorado, the Centennial State* (New York, 1941), p. 80; Jerome C. Smiley *et al*, *Semi-centennial History of the State of Colorado* (Chicago, New York, 1913), Vol. 1, p. 106; and Fuller and Hafen, *op. cit.*, footnote p. 181.

This ford on the Arkansas, in addition to being known to the Indians of the region, came to be well-known to white traders in later years. Thus, we find a reference to it in an article by George W. Thompson, "Experiences in the West," in *The Colorado Magazine*, Vol. IV (December, 1927), p. 178: "We crossed the Arkansas River near Bent's Old Fort on New Year's Day, 1865. The ford twenty miles above was used in high water by freighters carrying goods that would be ruined if wet. This 'Rocky Ford' has given its name to the present town at that location." Information regarding the history of the town, itself, may be found in LeRoy R. Hafen's article, "Colorado Cities—Their Founding and the Origin of Their Names," *The Colorado Magazine*, Vol. IX (September, 1932), p. 181, from which the following is an excerpt: "The first Rocky Ford was located on the Arkansas River in 1868, by A. Russell, who started a trading store there. In 1870 George W. Swink joined Russell. After the extension of the Santa Fe railroad to Pueblo, the post office was moved from the old town on the river to the railroad station three miles away. At the new location Russell and Swink laid out the present town in 1877. . . ." (I am indebted to Mr. J. L. Frazier, Deputy State Historian, Colorado State Museum, Denver, who very helpfully brought these two references to my attention).

ceeded "a little to the east of south, . . . nearly at right angles to the direction of the Arkansa. It was our intention to cross to, and ascend the First Fork. . . ." <sup>27</sup> Their route, as indicated on Major Long's map, <sup>28</sup> crossed a northeast-flowing stream during that day's journey, although no mention of this is made in James' *Account*. This could well have been Timpas Creek. It may be noted, also, that Captain Bell recorded in his journal for that morning the observation that ". . . 5 miles from our last camp [i.e., farther downstream], discovered a creek entering [the Arkansas] from the south, . . ." The editors presume this to have been Timpas Creek, <sup>29</sup> which Long's party would have had to cross if they had headed south from near Rocky Ford, but not if they had departed from near La Junta. According to James' *Account*, they travelled 27 miles that day, and camped "near the head of a dry ravine, communicating towards the southeast with a considerable stream, which we could distinguish at the distance of eight or ten miles, by a few trees along its course." <sup>30</sup> This "considerable stream," which they reached the following day, was the Purgatoire, as noted by Thwaites. <sup>31</sup> On Major Long's map, their camp for this evening is indicated as being on a stream running into the Purgatoire in a direction more nearly east-southeast. This could have been Jack Canyon, <sup>32</sup> in the north central part of T.27S., R.56W. This, however, would have been more nearly 25 than 27 miles from their camp on the Arkansas of the preceding day.

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27. James, *Account*, Vol. 2, p. 67.

This is the Purgatoire, or Purgatory River, according to Thwaites, *op. cit.*, Vol. 16, footnote p. 62.

28. "Map of the country drained by the Mississippi"; which was included in James, *Account*. Unfortunately, this map is sometimes not in agreement with James' narrative. For example, on July 27, the party's camp is indicated as being on a major watercourse, the "Negracka or Red Fork." The narrative, however, makes no mention of any such stream on that day, nor, indeed, would they have encountered any between the Purgatoire watershed and the Cimarrón, where they encamped on July 28.

29. Fuller and Hafen, *op. cit.*, footnote p. 187.

30. James, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

31. Thwaites, *op. cit.*, footnote 44, p. 65.

32. See Army Map Service Map, "La Junta" (Western U. S. Series, 1:250,000 printed by U. S. Geological Survey), and U. S. Geological Survey Map, "State of Colorado" (Edition of 1956, 1:500,000).

*July 25*

The party struck the Purgatoire in the middle of the day and after following up it for only a few miles “. . . entered the valley of a small creek, tributary from the southeast. . . .”<sup>33</sup> This must have been Chacuaco Creek, as surmised by Chittenden<sup>34</sup> and Thwaites.<sup>35</sup> They proceeded with great difficulty up Chacuaco Creek and “at five p.m. . . . halted for the night, having travelled fifteen miles.”<sup>36</sup> For reasons to be explained later, this camp was probably at the upstream end of the conspicuous “meanders,”<sup>37</sup> or sinuosities on Chacuaco Creek, which occur in the southern part of T.30S., R.56W.

*July 26*

The party continued up the stream, camping near its head that afternoon, their course during the day being “nearly south,” and the distance travelled being estimated at 15 miles.<sup>38</sup> “The actual distance passed, must have been much greater, as our real course was extremely circuitous, winding from right to left in conformity to the sinuosities of the valley.”<sup>39</sup> Their camp of this evening was probably in the northwest corner of T.33S., R.56W.

*July 27*

They arose at an early hour and, James continues, “at sunrise, we resumed our toilsome march, and, before ten o'clock, had arrived at a part of the valley beyond which it was found impossible to penetrate. The distance we had travelled would have been, in a direct line, about three miles. In passing it, we had followed no less than ten different courses, running in all possible directions.”<sup>40</sup> Finding it ne-

33. James, *Account*, Vol. 2, p. 71.

34. Chittenden, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 581 (who refers to it as Chaquaqua Creek).

35. Thwaites, *op. cit.*, footnote 45, p. 69.

36. James, *Account*, Vol. 2, p. 73.

37. See U. S. Geological Survey Topographic Map, “Mesa de Maya” (edition of Nov. 1893, reprinted 1948) on which these meanders are conspicuous, ending less than a mile above the mouth of Water Canyon.

38. James, *Account*, Vol. 2, p. 73

39. *Ibid.*, p. 75.

40. *Ibid.*

cessary to backtrack for a mile and a half, they were finally able, with great difficulty, to emerge from the canyon.

An apparent mixup occurs in James' *Account*, the forenoon of the 27th. Here he states that "on the preceding day" (i.e., July 26) the valley was bounded by cliffs of red sandstone,<sup>41</sup> and "As we ascended gradually along the bed of the stream, we could perceive we were arriving near the surface of this vast horizontal stratum and, at night, we pitched our tent at the very point where the red sandstone began to be overlaid, in the bed of the creek, by a different variety . . . the gray sandstone. . . ."<sup>42</sup>

This must surely have been their camp for the evening of the 25th, rather than the 26th. The upper limit of this red sandstone is encountered at the upper end of the conspicuous meanders on Chacuaco Creek mentioned previously.<sup>43</sup> A camp here would be perhaps twelve miles above the mouth of Chacuaco Creek (disregarding the sinuosities of the canyon) or around fifteen miles above the point where they struck the Purgatoire. This would be in close agreement with James' estimate of their mileage for the 25th. Furthermore, in the *Account* for the 25th, James describes coming to the end of the red sandstone and entering upon the gray variety.

When Major Long's party finally emerged from the canyon of Chacuaco Creek, they proceeded "one mile and a half into the plain in a due south course" and made a series of observations: "Due east, was a solitary and almost naked pile of rocks, towering to a very considerable elevation above the surface of the plain."<sup>44</sup> James' [i.e., Pike's] Peak bore north 71° west; the west Spanish Peak, south, 87° west; magnetic variation, 13½° east."<sup>45</sup>

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41. This red sandstone is the "unnamed formation" of the Dockum Group of Triassic age, and is overlain by the Entrada Sandstone of Jurassic age. The latter is stained red in many places and probably would not be differentiated from the Dockum sandstone by a casual observer. Elmer H. Baltz.

42. James, *Account*, Vol. 2, p. 76.

43. According to Brewster Baldwin.

44. In the London edition, this statement reads ". . . towering to a great elevation. . . ."

45. James, *Account*, Vol. 2, p. 77.

When plotted on a map these readings place the position of the party far to the east of where they must have been, if previous assumptions about their route are correct. It may be noted that Chittenden, a topographer himself, merely mentions these readings<sup>46</sup> without making any apparent attempt to use them in locating the position of the party. I am indebted, therefore, to William Muehlberger for a thoroughly credible explanation for this apparently anomalous situation. If the party had indeed been on upper Chacuaco Creek, the reading on the west Spanish Peak would fit very well. The reading given for Pike's Peak, however, bears not on that mountain, but on Greenhorn Mountain, a peak 20 miles northwest of Walsenberg, lying at the southeastern end of the Wet Mountains in northern Huerfano County. According to Dr. Muehlberger, this mountain would be quite conspicuous as seen from the plains to the southeast, where Long's party would have viewed it. It stands out from the surrounding mountains, being set off by a depression on either side of it—the valley of the Arkansas to the northeast, and the upper Huerfano Valley (Huerfano Park) to the southwest. Thus, the party having been confined in Chacuaco Canyon out of sight of the mountains for two days, on emerging onto the plain looked in the general direction that Pike's Peak had been, and there, fulfilling their expectation, was indeed a conspicuous peak!<sup>47</sup>

Their readings, when plotted on a map,<sup>48</sup> locate their position just northwest of the Mesa de Maya, in the northwest quarter of T.33S., R.56W., approximately 2 miles *east* of where I have placed their camp of the previous night. This location, however, would seem to be about 5 miles too far to

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46. Chittenden, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 581.

47. Their compass reading on Pike's Peak from their last camp on the Arkansas was: north 68° west; their reading on Greenhorn Mountain is remarkably similar: north 71° west. As a reading on Pike's Peak from farther south, however, this higher figure would have been an impossibility. It seems strange that this was not noticed.

48. U.S.G.S. Map, "State of Colorado." Using a straight-edge and heavy steel protractor (and taking the reading on Greenhorn Mountain rather than Pike's Peak, of course), I plotted the readings several times, but the resulting loci were all within perhaps a mile of each other, at the general location mentioned above in the text.

the northeast, for their actual position was probably just off the western end of the mesa, perhaps a mile west of the southeast corner of T.33S., R.57W. This assumption is warranted by (1) the distances they had travelled since coming upon Chacuaco Creek, and particularly by (2) James' observation of a "solitary and almost naked pile of rocks towering to a very considerable [or great] elevation above the surface of the plain," lying due east of their position. This could well have been the conspicuous promontory on the Mesa de Maya at its extreme western end.<sup>49</sup> The summit of this eminence stands 1,000 to 1,200 feet above the surrounding plain and is very nearly the highest point on the Mesa.<sup>50</sup> I myself have observed it from a point perhaps 2 miles due west of the Mesa. Viewed through binoculars, it fits James' description quite well. Long's party must certainly have seen this promontory, for they would have had to skirt past the west end of the mesa in order to continue their journey southward, and of all the features of the landscape along their route through the area, this would probably have been most apt to evoke comment.

If, on the other hand, one assumes that their compass readings indicated their true position, James' statement regarding the "solitary and almost naked pile of rocks" would be puzzling indeed. At a distance of 10 miles due east they would almost certainly have seen Fowler Mesa. However, it rises only about 400 feet above the surrounding plain and from that distance it would hardly have appeared like a "pile of rocks towering to a great elevation." The much higher, nearer, and more conspicuous west end of the Mesa de Maya

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49. Essentially the same conclusion was reached by Dr. Claude M. Rogers, Dept. of Biology, Wayne University, Detroit, Michigan, in the course of a vegetation study of the Mesa de Maya (see his paper, "The Vegetation of the Mesa de Maya Region of Colorado, New Mexico, and Oklahoma," *Lloydia*, Vol. 16, pp. 257-290. 1953): "In answer to your inquiry about the Long Expedition, I did conclude that the 'pile of rocks' he described was probably the Mesa de Maya . . . from where James might have viewed the mesa, it does stand alone and rises nearly 1,500 feet above the surrounding plain and therefore would seem to fit his description very well" (Correspondence with C. M. Rogers, September 12, 1960).

50. See A. M. S. Map, "La Junta."



would have been south of them—not due east. One is led to conclude, therefore, that their actual position was that previously stated, and that this small discrepancy was due to differential shrinkage or stretching of the map used (see footnote 25).

They proceeded on their way, halting to make camp at 5 p.m. "having travelled about ten miles nearly due south from the point where we had left the valley of the creek."<sup>51</sup> In several instances the directions reported by James appear to be compass readings uncorrected for magnetic declination. A case in point is their route up Chacuaco Creek, which James reported as being "nearly south." Actually, the general trend of this stream (from mouth to source) is 13-15° *west* of south. Inasmuch as James reported a "magnetic variation" of 13½° east of true north on this day, this should be kept in mind whenever he stated their direction of march. Thus, in the present instance, "due south" could be taken as *south*, 13½° *west*. The distance stated (ten miles) appears to be a bit too much, also. A likely site for their camp of this evening would be in the south-central part of T.34S., R.57W., and probably no more than about 4 miles from the present Colorado-New Mexico state line.

*July 28*

"From an elevated point, about eight miles<sup>52</sup> south of our encampment," James begins this day's account, "the high peak<sup>53</sup> at the head of the Arkansas was still visible."<sup>54</sup>

According to Brewster Baldwin, this elevated point could have been Nigger Mesa,<sup>55</sup> on the flank of which a good view may be had from only 100 feet or so above the general level

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51. James, *Account*, Vol. 2, p. 78.

52. In James, *Diary*: "six or eight miles. . . ." This distance was probably nearer six than eight miles.

53. Greenhorn Mountain, no doubt, rather than Pike's Peak.

54. James, *Account*, Vol. 2, p. 78.

55. A local name for a small mesa in T.32N., R.29E. (the position of the party was probably in Sec. 27) ca. 4 miles west-northwest of Devoy's Peak, and just south of the Colorado state line in Union County, New Mexico. Although not generally found on maps of this region, the name is used in Baldwin and Muehlberger, "Geologic Studies of Union County, New Mexico," *New Mexico Bureau of Mines, Bull. 63* (Socorro, 1959); see, for example, Plate 7.

of the surrounding terrain. Muehlberger, furthermore, cites several passages in James' account of that morning that suggest this mesa or its environs: "We perceived before us a striking change in the aspect and conformation of the surface; instead of the wearisome uniformity, the low and pointless ridges, which mark the long tract of horizontal sandstone we had passed, we had now the prospect of a country varied by numerous continued ranges of lofty hills, interspersed with insulated conelike piles, and irregular masses of every variety of magnitude and position."<sup>56</sup> According to Muehlberger, such a view could have been obtained from the south side of Nigger Mesa, where the party could have seen Sierra Grande, Emery Peak, Capulin Mountain, José Butte, Robinson Mountain, Palo Blanco, and others.

In the next paragraph, James makes this observation: "In the ravines, and over the surface of the soil, we observed masses of a light, porous, reddish-brown substance, greatly resembling that so often seen floating down the Missouri, by some considered a product of pseudo-volcanic fires, . . . We also saw some porphyritic masses with a basis of greenstone, containing crystals of felspar."<sup>57</sup> According to Muehlberger, the first is evidently a description of scoria, or volcanic cinders, which, although not common north of the Dry Cimarrón, are indeed to be found around Nigger Mesa. The second is a description of the basalt of the area. Although the basalt from farther south is usually not porphyritic, that from the area around Nigger Mesa is, according to Muehlberger.

It may be noted that the party would have had to drift slightly to the west in order to have struck Nigger Mesa, even assuming their "southward" line of march to have been some 10-15° west of south, as postulated above. Such a route would probably have been necessary.<sup>58</sup> Had the party followed a line

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56. James, *Account*, Vol. 2, p. 79.

57. *Ibid.*, p. 80.

58. In the opinion of Mr. Elmo Traylor, Area Supervisor, Northeast Area, New Mexico Dept. of Game and Fish, Raton. Mr. Traylor, a long-time resident of northeastern New Mexico, has an intimate knowledge of the terrain from years spent in the field as

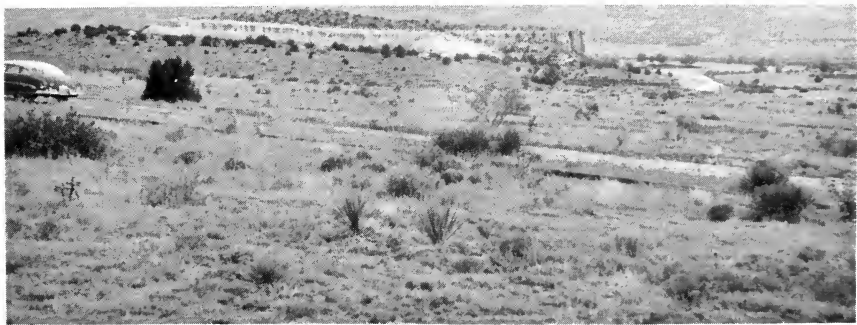


FIG. 3. *Top*: The butte in the background of Peale's sketch of the black tail deer.

*Bottom*: The butte which Peale sketched, as it appears today. (Photograph by Loren D. Potter, Sept. 7, 1962). This is in the valley of Ute Creek, in the south half of the northwest quarter of Section 28, T.21N., R.30E., in Harding County, New Mexico..



of march southward from the Mesa de Maya, they would have encountered the upper course of Long's Canyon. The several upper branches of this canyon, that rise to the south and southwest of the western end of the Mesa de Maya, have such precipitous canyon walls that it would have been virtually impossible to cross them with horses. The logical move, therefore, would have been to bear to the west and skirt around the several forks of upper Long's Canyon.

There is no mention of such a move in James' *Account*. Indeed, his narrative for that afternoon states that their course was "a little *east* of south" (*italics mine*). Therefore, one must acknowledge the speculative nature of postulating such a drift to the west. If this assumption is made, however, later comments and observations fall properly into place, whereas if one supposes that the party held to a course a little east of south, as James stated, their route becomes inexplicable indeed. In fact, if one tries to work solely from the stated directions in James' *Account*, the course of this day's journey is the most problematic of the entire march from the Arkansas to the Canadian. To be sure, a course a little east of south would point them toward Long's Canyon (mentioned above). The implications of this name<sup>59</sup> are obvious, but for reasons which will be presented later, Long's Canyon must be ruled out as the route followed by Major Long's party.

Continuing, then, with James' narrative for the afternoon of July 28: "Our course, which was a little east of south, led us across several extensive vallies, having a thin dark coloured soil, closely covered with grasses and strewed with

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a Game Warden, chiefly in Union County. It was my good fortune to spend the greater part of two days in the field with him, September 13-14, 1960, checking on a number of points in Long's itinerary, mainly in Union County, New Mexico.

William Muehlberger concurs in this opinion of Traylor's.

59. Just when this name was first applied, or by whom, I have been unable to determine. In reply to an inquiry on this point, Mr. J. L. Frazier, Deputy State Historian at the State Museum, Denver, writes as follows: "Our files do not indicate by whom, after whom, or when Long's Canyon was named; but, Mrs. Agnes Wright Spring, state historian, agrees with me that in all probability, Long's Canyon was named after Stephen Long" (Correspondence with J. L. Frazier, August 31, 1961).

fragments of greenstone. Descending, towards evening, into a broad and deep valley, we found ourselves again immured between walls of grey sandstone, similar in elevation and all other particulars to those which limit the valley of Purgatory creek. It was not until considerable search had been made, that we discovered a place where it was possible to effect the descent, which was at length accomplished, not without danger to the life and limbs of ourselves and horses."

"Pursuing our way, along this valley," (James' narrative continues) "we arrived, towards evening, at an inconsiderable stream of transparent and nearly pure water descending along a narrow channel, paved with black and shapeless masses of amygdaloidal and imperfectly porphyritic greenstone. . . . From the very considerable magnitude of the valley, and the quantity of water in the creek, it is reasonable to infer that its sources were distant at least twenty miles to the west, . . ." Crossing the creek, they set up their tent in preparation for a thunder shower. Then, "after the rain, the sky became clear, and . . . the grassy plain, acquiring unwonted verdure from the shower, . . . disclosed here and there a conic pile or a solitary fragment of black and porous Amygdaloid."<sup>60</sup>

In a footnote James says, "From a subsequent comparison of the direction of several water courses which descend from this elevated district, we have been induced to consider the creek mentioned in the text as one of the most remote sources of the great northern tributary of the Canadian river."<sup>61</sup> It seems virtually certain, however, that this stream was the Cimarrón River (or Dry Cimarrón, as it is more generally known today), as surmised by Thwaites.<sup>62</sup> The geologists whom I have consulted on this point—Baldwin, Muehlberger, and Baltz—as well as Elmo Traylor, are unanimous in this identification. To these men, all the descriptive details given by James fit the Dry Cimarrón very well indeed

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60. James, *Account*, Vol. 2, pp. 81-82.

61. *Ibid.*, p. 81.

62. Thwaites, *op. cit.*, Vol. 16, footnote p. 80.

—the gray sandstone formations similar to those on the Purgatoire, the deep, wide vally, the valley floor, described as a “grassy plain”<sup>63</sup> with “conic piles”<sup>64</sup> here and there, and the occurrence of basalt (“greenstone”) in the stream channel. By contrast, James’ description fits none of the several streams lying farther to the south, in the areas where they would have been crossed by the party’s southward line of march—Travesser Creek, the headwaters of the North Canadian (Corrumpa Creek), or Carrizo Creek. Southward from where Long’s party must have been, all three of the latter streams are so small, shallow, and open as to be scarcely worthy of comment. Two of these—Corrumpa and Carrizo creeks—I have seen myself in company with Elmo Traylor, and he informs me that the third is also quite insignificant in the area where Long’s party would have encountered it.

Although the identity of this valley as the Dry Cimarrón thus seems quite clear, the exact route by which the party made its way to the valley is not. As mentioned previously, however, it was not via Long’s Canyon. Several points of evidence support this assertion. Most convincing of all is the fact that whereas James described the stream channel as being paved with “greenstone” (i.e., basalt), the stream bed of the Dry Cimarrón at the confluence of Long’s Canyon is not. Farther upstream, to the west, the stream channel is indeed paved with basalt, but this ends at the Cross L Ranch, according to Baldwin, some 5 or 6 miles above the mouth of Long’s Canyon.<sup>65</sup> Obviously, this would argue for an approach farther upstream.<sup>66</sup>

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63. East of the mouth of Tollgate Canyon, the valley of the Cimarrón opens out to a width of as much as two miles for the next four miles to the east, and is excellent grazing land today, according to Muehlberger.

64. These could be knobs of the basalt flows which have not been buried by the recent alluvial fill, according to Muehlberger.

65. See Baldwin and Muehlberger, *op. cit.*, Plate 1b. Elmo Traylor was aware of these facts, also, and on September 14, 1960, he showed me this difference in the stream channel of the Dry Cimarrón near the mouth of Long’s Canyon, as contrasted with the mouth of Tollgate Canyon, about 15 miles upstream.

66. Baldwin, Muehlberger, and Traylor are all of the opinion that Major Long’s line of approach to the Dry Cimarrón could well have been Tollgate Canyon, some 15 miles upstream from the mouth of Long’s Canyon, or possibly the small (unnamed) canyon ca. 1 mile downstream from Tollgate.

Another point, mentioned previously, which argues against Long's Canyon, is the sheer, precipitous nature of the canyon walls that rim the upper reaches of this canyon and its forks. According to Elmo Traylor it is a virtual impossibility to descend off the plain into the upper reaches of Long's Canyon with horses. Indeed, according to Traylor, prior to the construction of a road up the canyon and onto the plain, the ranchers with holdings in the canyon had never had to erect fences to keep their cattle from straying onto the plain above. There is no place where cattle can enter and leave the upper reaches of the canyon!

Traylor makes another point which seems cogent. If Long's Canyon had been their route to the Cimarrón, in proceeding southward the next day (as the party did), they would have struck Travesser Creek (the next stream to the south) where it is a deep canyon and very difficult to cross with horses. Southward from Tollgate Canyon, however, Travesser Creek is so shallow and small as to pose no problem whatever.<sup>67</sup> In James' account of the following day there is no mention of their having crossed any difficult canyon.<sup>68</sup>

Still another point against Long's Canyon is this: in the afternoon before arriving at the Cimarrón, the party crossed "several extensive valleys." Had their route been south from the Mesa de Maya to Long's Canyon, and down it, this statement would seem puzzling indeed, for no valleys of any sort would have lain across their line of march. On the other hand, if they had swung westward that morning to the vicinity of Nigger Mesa (as we have previously postulated), a subsequent course "a little east of south" would have led them across the valleys of the westernmost headwaters of Long's Canyon.<sup>69</sup> Thus, James' statement would have had some meaning.

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67. See A. M. S. Map, "Dalhart" (Western U. S. Series, 1:250,000).

68. This is negative evidence, of course.

69. See Baldwin and Muehlberger, *op. cit.*, Plate 11-B, which shows a view of this region.



It would seem, therefore, that Major Long's party probably approached the Cimarrón via Tollgate Canyon, or possibly the next small canyon to the east. They could have descended into upper Tollgate Canyon in a number of places, according to Traylor, although not without some difficulty. Either of these canyons would have exhibited "walls of grey sandstone, similar in elevation and all other particulars to those which limit the valley of Purgatory Creek" (as would Long's Canyon, also, it must be admitted). At the mouth of either of these canyons the party would have encountered dark volcanic rock (the "greenstone" mentioned by James) in the stream bed of the Dry Cimarrón.

### *July 29*

Starting out on a course S.35°E., the party arrived at the cliff bounding the south side of the valley at a distance of 3 miles from their camp. This "mural barrier" they found impassable "except at particular points, where it is broken by ravines. One of these we were fortunate in finding without being compelled to deviate greatly from our course, and climbing its rugged declivity, we emerged upon the broad expanse of the high plain."<sup>70</sup> From the distance travelled and the direction of their course, as given by James, both Baldwin and Muehlberger are of the opinion that Brigg's Canyon<sup>71</sup> was probably their avenue of exit from the valley of the Dry Cimarrón.

"Turning with a sort of involuntary motion towards the west," James continues, "we again caught a view of the distant summits of the Andes,<sup>72</sup> appearing on the verge of our horizon. The scene before us was beautifully varied with smooth valleys, high conic bills, and irregular knobs, scattered in every direction as far as the eye could comprehend. Among these singular eminences nothing could be perceived

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70. James, *Account*, Vol. 2, p. 82.

71. See Baldwin and Muehlberger, *op. cit.*, Plate 1b.

72. The New Mexico portion of the Sangre de Cristo range, according to Muehlberger.

like a continuous unbroken range; most of them stand entirely isolated, others in groups and ranges, but all are distinct hills, with unconnected bases."<sup>73</sup>

This is a very good description of the area around Folsom, north of Sierra Grande. It should not be inferred, however, that the party was in the midst of the country so described, or even that their line of march was in that direction. Rather, this is the view the party would have seen *while facing to the west*, after leaving Brigg's Canyon. Their course during the day was evidently southward. This is the direction indicated on Major Long's map,<sup>74</sup> although no direction is stated in James' *Account*.

Two violent storms out of the northeast overtook and delayed the party during the day. Pelted by hail, chilled by the cold wind, and soaked by the rain, which continued till dark, they finally halted and set up their small tent. Wet, half-frozen, hungry, and fatigued, they piled under it without benefit of dry clothing or blankets, food or fire, and, James' narrative continues, "We spent a cheerless night, in the course of which Mr. Peale<sup>75</sup> experienced an alarming attack of a spasmodic affection of the stomach induced probably by cold and inanition. He was somewhat relieved by the free use of opium and whiskey."<sup>76</sup>

The distance travelled is not stated, but was perhaps 17 miles, slightly less than the 20 miles presumed by Chittenden.<sup>77</sup> The reason for my estimate will be explained farther on. From the direction of their route, they should have passed just to the east of Sierra Grande. Hence, their camp of this evening would have been off the east flank of this mountain, probably toward the southeast corner of T.29N., R.29E.

### July 30

Arising at an early hour, they continued on their way,

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73. James, *Account*, Vol. 2, p. 82.

74. "Map of the Country drained by the Mississippi," in James, *Account*.

75. Titian Ramsay Peale (1800-1885), assistant naturalist and artist of the expedition.

76. James, *Account*, Vol. 2, pp. 83-84.

77. Chittenden, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 582.

"traversing a wide plain strewn with fragments of greenstone, . . ." <sup>78</sup> In all probability this was the basalt-covered plain southeast of Sierra Grande. Then, according to James, "We arrived in the middle of the day, in sight of a creek, which like all watercourses of this region, occupies the bottom of a deep and almost inaccessible valley; with the customary difficulty and danger, we at length found our way down to the stream, and encamped." <sup>79</sup> The entries in James' *Diary* for this day and the next create a slightly different picture, however. On this day, July 30, the party "arrived in the afternoon at a small stream which we supposed to be a branch of Red River and encamped for the remainder of the evening." <sup>80</sup> This impression of a *small* stream is modified somewhat by his diary entry of July 31: "Our last encampment was in a deep and narrow ravine worn by a small creek in a horizontal bed of greenstone trap" (i.e., basalt).

James' *Account* continues: "The valley in which we halted is narrow, and bounded on both sides by cliffs of greenstone, having manifestly a tendency to columnar or polyedral structure. . . . The stream . . . which was now dry, runs toward the southeast. Having arrived at the part of the country which has by common consent, been represented to contain the sources of the Red River of Louisiana, we were induced by the general inclination of the surface, and the direction of this creek to consider it as one of those sources, and accordingly resolved to descend along its course. . . ." <sup>81</sup>

This stream, which Long's party followed down to the Canadian River during the next 5 days, has been thought by most authors to be Major Long's Creek <sup>82</sup> (more commonly

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78. James, *Account*, Vol. 2, p. 84.

79. *Ibid.*

80. James, *Diary*.

81. James, *Account*, Vol. 2, p. 85.

82. Chittenden, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 582; Thwaites, *op. cit.*, Vol. 16, footnote 52, p. 85; Jerome C. Smiley, et al., *Semi-centennial History of the State of Colorado*, Vol. 1 (Chicago, New York, 1913), p. 107; W. J. Ghent, *The Early Far West. A Narrative Outline* (New York, 1936), p. 158; Susan D. McKelvey, *Botanical Exploration of the Trans-Mississippi West 1790-1850* (Cambridge, Mass., 1955), p. 229; Berry N. Alvis, *Settlement and Economic Development of Union County, New Mexico* (M.A. Thesis in History, University of Colorado Library, Boulder, 1934), p. 13 [Chapters 5, 6, 7 published in *NEW MEX-*

designated on maps by its local names : in New Mexico, Tramperos Creek, or, on its lower reaches east of the Texas-New Mexico state boundary, Punta de Agua). A combination of geological and topographic features recorded in James' *Account*, however, indicates that it was Ute Creek without much doubt, and rules out other streams of this region, including Major Long's Creek. This evidence will be discussed in detail later.

The party probably struck Ute Creek in the southwest part of T.24N., R.29E., in Brewster Baldwin's opinion. This would be in the neighborhood of three miles downstream from where it crosses U. S. Highway 56. For one thing, basalt occurs on both sides of Ute Creek here, and for a short distance above and below this point (the total distance being little more than a mile). Downstream from this area, basalt occurs on only one side (the southwest side) of Ute Creek, and then only sporadically. In addition, Ute Creek has essentially vertical walls here (although less than 100 feet high), so that it would indeed have been difficult for Long's party to make their way down to the stream. Upstream from this area, Ute Creek soon becomes quite open and shallow, and thus would not fit James' description.<sup>83</sup>

The distance travelled by the party on July 30 was probably about 30 miles, for in James' *Diary* on this date he mentions "the ride of about 30 miles across the dividing ridge." The total distance from their camp of July 28 on the Dry Cim-

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ICO HISTORICAL REVIEW, vol. 22, no. 3 (1947). F. D. R.] "While it is not definitely known that Major Long followed the Creek which bears his name, the local tradition to that effect has been perpetuated in the name given to this creek." See also, C. O. Paullin, in J. K. Wright (ed.), *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States*. *Carnegie Institution of Washington Publication 401* (Baltimore, 1932), Plate 39-B.

83. Mr. James E. Gallagher, formerly Postmaster at Bueyeros (some 25 miles farther down Ute Creek, in Harding County), a long-time resident of this area, quite independently expressed the same general opinion as Baldwin. From James' *Account*, Gallagher singled out this portion of upper Ute Creek, lying between Highway 56 and Road 120 as the area where Long's party struck the stream. According to Gallagher, this segment is known locally as "Black Canyon." (Interview with James E. Gallagher at Bueyeros, September 13, 1960.)

I have subsequently (September 8, 1962) seen this area myself. Along this short stretch of the canyon the low, vertical cliffs create a barrier virtually impassable to horses. Both upstream and downstream from this area, however, one can easily descend to the stream.

arrón to the point where they struck Ute Creek is approximately 47 miles. Hence, the distance travelled on July 29 would have been only about 17 miles, as previously mentioned. They evidently crossed the Don Carlos Hills en route, for this east-west oriented chain of low volcanic hills would have been the only "dividing ridge" lying across their line of march.

### *July 31*

Unable to proceed down the creek because it was so obstructed by fragments fallen from the basalt cliffs above, the party "ascended into the plain, and continuing along the brink of the precipice, arrived in a few hours at a point where the substratum of sandstone emerges<sup>84</sup> to light, at the base of an inconsiderable hill. It is a fine gray sandstone . . . remarkably contrasted to the massive and imperfectly columnar greenstone, which it supports."<sup>85</sup>

"At one o'clock," James continues, "we arrived at the confluence of a creek, tributary from the east to the stream we were following, and descending into its valley, by a precipitous declivity of about four hundred feet, encamped for the remainder of the day. This valley is bounded by perpendicular cliffs of sandstone, surmounted by extensive beds of greenstone."<sup>86</sup> Their camp of this day would have been in the northeast part of Section 13, T.22N., R.29E., and the distance travelled about 12 miles. Baldwin points out that here the "extensive beds of greenstone" are only on the southwest side of Ute Creek.

### *August 1*

The party remained in camp and rested.

### *August 2*

At sunrise they resumed their journey down the valley,

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84. According to Baldwin, this is the Dakota formation, and this location is in the northwest corner of T.23N., R.29E. (See Baldwin and Muehlberger, *op. cit.*, Plate 1 c).

85. James, *Account*, Vol. 2, p. 86.

86. *Ibid.*, p. 87.

their course being south, 30° east.<sup>87</sup> "At the distance of two or three miles we found the valley much expanded in width, and observed a conspicuous change in the sandstone precipices, which bound it. This change is the occurrence of a second variety of sand-rock, appearing along the base of the cliff, and supporting the slaty argillaceous stratum above described. . . . The lowermost or red<sup>88</sup> sand-rock, is here very friable and coarse."<sup>89</sup>

"On entering the wider part of the valley," James continues, "we perceived before us, standing alone in the middle of the plain, an immense circular elevation, rising nearly to the level of the surface of the sandstone table, and apparently inaccessible upon all sides. . . ."

"Leaving this we passed three others in succession, similar in character, but more elevated and remarkable. [Of one of them, Mr. Peale has preserved a drawing.]<sup>90</sup> After passing the last of these, the hills ceased abruptly, and we found ourselves once more entering on a vast unvaried plain of sand. The bed of the creek had become much wider, but its water had disappeared. . . . Some fragments of amygdaloid were strewed along the bed of the stream, but we saw no more of that rock."<sup>91</sup>

Let us consider now the evidence on which we have based the opinion that this stream which Long's party was following was Ute Creek rather than Major Long's Creek (or any other watercourse of this region).

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87. In the London edition of James' *Account* this is the direction given; in the Philadelphia edition it is given as "south, 80° east."

88. According to Elmer Baltz, this red sandstone is probably the upper part of the Chinle Formation of Triassic age, which is capped by lighter colored sandstone of the Entrada Formation. Here, as on the Purgatoire, a casual observer probably would not differentiate the two.

According to Baldwin, this location where the party first encountered the red sandstone would be in the southwest corner of T.22N., R.30E. (See Baldwin and Muehlberger, *op. cit.*, Plate 1 c). James' first observation fits very well also; the rather abrupt widening of the valley of Ute Creek is evident here on A.M.S. Map, "Dalhart," about 2 miles upstream from the southern boundary of this township.

89. James, *Account*, Vol. 2, p. 90.

90. The statement in brackets is in the London edition of James' *Account*, but not in the Philadelphia edition.

91. James, *Account*, Vol. 2, pp. 90-91.

First of all, Major Long's Creek (Tramperos Creek) is ruled out unequivocally by James' repeated mention of "greenstone" (basalt<sup>92</sup>) along this stream. For example, at their first camp (July 30) James commented on the "cliffs of greenstone, having manifestly a tendency to columnar or polyedral structure." There is no columnar basalt nor, indeed, any other volcanic formations to be seen on the Tramperos watershed<sup>93</sup>—only sedimentary formations: shales and sandstones of the Graneros, Dakota Purgatoire, and Morrison formations.<sup>94</sup> Carrizo Creek is also eliminated from consideration by James' observation (on Aug. 2) of the coarse red sandstone—the upper part of the Chinle Formation capped by the Entrada Sandstone. There are no exposures of this formation anywhere along Carrizo Creek. Also, James' observation (on July 31) of a tributary creek in a canyon about 400 feet deep would fit Ute Creek and its tributaries above Bueyeros, but not Carrizo Creek, which nowhere forms a canyon, nor has tributaries, of this magnitude. Furthermore, the direction of the stream in question, as stated by James, was toward the southeast, or somewhat south of that (e.g., south 30° east, on Aug. 2), which fits the Ute Creek but not Carrizo. The latter stream trends much more in an easterly direction—in general, approximately east-southeast. In fact, in several portions its direction is actually toward the east (in T.24N., R.33E.; T.23N. R.36E.; and the last 13 miles above its junction with Rita Blanca Creek).<sup>95</sup>

Another highly significant point is James' mention of the "immense circular elevations" rising from the valley floor. These must be the conspicuous buttes which occur in the valley floor of Ute Creek a few miles west and slightly north of present-day Bueyeros, in Harding County. None of the geologists I have consulted, nor Elmo Traylor, know of another valley in northeastern New Mexico in which four conspicuous

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92. There can be no doubt that James used the term "greenstone" to signify basalt; see his *Account*, Vol. 2, pp. 401-402.

93. Baltz, Baldwin, and Muehlberger are unanimous and positive on this point.

94. See Baldwin and Muehlberger, *op. cit.*, Plate 1c.

95. See A.M.S. Map, "Dalhart," for these details of magnitude and direction.

buttes occur in the valley floor within the space of two or three miles.

From James' mentioning that Titian Ramsay Peale had made a sketch of one of these buttes, it was felt that if Peale's sketch could be located it would be a relatively simple matter to compare it (or a photograph of it) with the buttes in Ute Creek. If, then, a close correspondence were found between this sketch and one of the buttes, this would be virtually incontrovertible evidence that Ute Creek was, indeed, the stream Long's party descended to the Canadian. A search was thus inspired, which, although lengthy, ultimately bore fruit. It was determined that many of Peale's sketches from the expedition are now in the library of the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia.<sup>96</sup> In response to an inquiry, Mr. Murphy D. Smith, Manuscripts Librarian at this institution, reported as follows: "We do have a major collection of papers of the Peale family here in the Library. However, I could not locate the sketch, made by Titian Ramsay Peale about which you wrote. The Peale family papers are still scattered and we occasionally acquire additional items."<sup>97</sup>

The writer then sent a series of photographs of the buttes<sup>98</sup> to Mr. Smith, requesting that he check Peale's sketches again. Mr. Smith very kindly complied, and this time, with the photographs for comparison, was able to single out one sketch of Peale's—a picture of a black tail deer in the background of which is a depiction of a butte which is indeed similar in a general way to those in the photographs. The writer subsequently visited this area (September 7, 1962, accompanied by Dr. Loren D. Potter, Department of Biology, University of New Mexico), and experienced little difficulty in identifying the particular butte which Peale had sketched (see Figs. 2 and 3). Of the four, it proved to be the one

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96. See Robert C. Murphy, "The Sketches of Titian Ramsay Peale (1799-1885)," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 101, p. 526 (1957); Jessie Poesch, "Titian Ramsay Peale 1799-1885, and His Journals of the Wilkes Expedition," *Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 52, p. 28 (1961).

97. Correspondence with Murphy D. Smith, January 2, 1962.

98. Kindly supplied by Dr. Charles J. Mankin, Department of Geology, University of Oklahoma.



farthest upstream—the one the party would have encountered first. It lies in the south half of the northwest quarter of Section 28, T.21N., R.30E., in Harding County. The fact that the butte occurs on a sketch of the black tail deer has special significance. According to James' *Account*, "though several had been killed, none had been brought to camp possessing all the characters of the perfect animal. Supposing we should soon pass beyond their range, a reward had been offered to the hunter who should kill and bring to camp an entire and full-grown buck."

"Verplank killed one of this description, on the afternoon of the 1st of August, near enough our camp to call for assistance, and bring it in whole. They did not arrive until dark, . . . and a drawing [was] made by Mr. Peale, the requisite light being furnished by a large fire."<sup>99</sup> The very next morning, August 2, was when the party passed the buttes. What would have been more natural than for Peale to have added a few details of the landscape to impart an authentic touch to the background of the sketch he had made just the night before?

James' other observations of the morning of August 2, which I have mentioned previously—both the physical features and the sequence in which he noted them—all fit Ute Creek: the valley broadening out from a narrow canyon a few miles above the buttes and the red sandstone appearing at the base of the cliffs, the appearance of the buttes themselves, the valley then becoming a broad, flat, sandy plain, and the petering out of the volcanics. Thus, there can be little doubt concerning the identity of the stream the party was following.

The view that the party's route followed "Major Long's Creek" may possibly have originated in the widely known 1857 map of Lieut. G. K. Warren.<sup>100</sup> This map shows the

99. James, *Account*, Vol. 2, p. 88.

100. "Map of the territory of the United States from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean, ordered by the Hon. Jeff'n Davis, Secretary of War to accompany the Reports of the Explorations for a Railroad Route . . . compiled . . . by Lieut. G. K. Warren . . . in . . . 1854-5-6-7." This is one of the number of maps included with Vol. 11 of the Pacific

route of Major Long's party striking an unnamed tributary of the Canadian and proceeding southward along it to the Canadian itself. To the west, the next major tributary is named "Utah Creek." This map, in other respects highly authoritative,<sup>101</sup> thus established (or perpetuated) an error in the route followed by Major Long which has been repeated by the great majority of later cartographers and historians. Although unnamed on Warren's map, the course of this tributary and its position relative to Ute Creek (Utah Creek) leave little doubt that it is Major Long's Creek.

The association of Long's name with that particular water-course, however, probably dates from Henry S. Tanner's "Map of North America" of 1822.<sup>102</sup> This great cartographic achievement, which incorporated the geographic findings of Long's expedition, indicates that the party followed down a major tributary of the Canadian, which on this map is named "Trace Creek."<sup>103</sup> To the east, the next major tributary is named "Long's Fork." Major Long's route is *not* indicated as following this stream, however, and why the latter should have been chosen to commemorate his name is not clear. Thus, Tanner was evidently the first to apply Long's name to the stream which still bears it, but at the same time was aware that it was not Long's route to the Canadian. There would seem to be little doubt that "Trace Creek" of Tanner's map is Ute Creek, by virtue of its position relative to "Long's

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Railroad Reports, 1861 ("Report of Explorations and Surveys to Ascertain the most practicable and economical route for a railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean, etc.").

101. "The most important achievement of the [Pacific Railroad] surveys . . . Warren's map marked the culmination of six decades of effort to comprehend the outlines of western geography. [It] . . . was a landmark in American cartography." W. H. Goetzmann, *Army Exploration in the American West 1803-1863* (New Haven, 1959), p. 313.

102. A portion of Tanner's map is reproduced in Carl I. Wheat, *Mapping the Trans-mississippi West, 1540-1861* (San Francisco, 1958), Vol. 2, facing p. 81. According to Wheat (*op. cit.*, p. 82) the copy in the Library of Congress bears the date 1822, which was actually before the account of Long's expedition was published. Apparently the same map was published in sections in Henry S. Tanner, *New American Atlas* (Philadelphia, 1823); the region with which we are concerned is in Map 10.

103. A name probably derived from the Indian "road" or "trace" which followed along lower Ute Creek, and which Long's party followed down to the Canadian (as explained farther on).

Fork," and the large Indian "trace" from which its name is probably taken.

Long's route is also correctly shown on Josiah Gregg's map of 1844,<sup>104</sup> as descending the "Arroyo de los Yutas." Major Long's name is not applied to any of the tributaries of the Canadian to the east, but there can be little doubt that Gregg's "Arroyo de los Yutas" is, in fact, Ute Creek. Its confluence with the Canadian is shown as being approximately 22 miles northeast of a "Cerro de Tucumcari." (This is quite accurate—Ute Creek joins the Canadian slightly more than 19 miles northeast of Tucumcari Mountain<sup>105</sup>).

Other maps of this period purporting to show Major Long's route are usually less accurate in this matter than Gregg's (see, for example, the maps by Smith, Fremont, and Gibbs, 1831; Burr, 1839; and Emory, 1844).<sup>106</sup>

Coming back to James' *Account* of August 2, although no distance is stated for their morning's march, Brewster Baldwin's knowledge of the valley of Ute Creek and the context of James' *Account* lead him to estimate 21 miles. In the afternoon, according to James, they travelled 13 miles.<sup>107</sup> The total distance covered that day—34 miles—would place their camp of this evening approximately 11½ miles above the junction of Tequesquite Creek.

### August 3

"Little delay was occasioned by our preparations for breakfast" (James' *Account* begins). "The fourth part of a biscuit, which had been issued to each man on the preceding evening, and which was to furnish both supper and breakfast, would have required little time had all of it remained to be eaten, which was not the case. We were becoming somewhat impatient on account of thirst, having met with no water which we could drink, for near twenty-four hours. Ac-

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104. "A map of the Indian Territory, Northern Texas, and New Mexico, Showing the Great Western Prairies," reproduced in Wheat, *op. cit.*, facing p. 181.

105. As determined from A.M.S. Map, "Tucumcari" (Western U. S. Series, 1:250,000).

106. Reproduced in Wheat, *op. cit.*, facing pages 128, 167, and 184, respectively.

107. James, *Account*, Vol. 2, p. 92.

cordingly getting upon our horses at an early hour, we moved down the valley. . . ." <sup>108</sup> The distance travelled is not recorded for this day in James' *Account*. In his *Diary*, however, James states, "Our journey yesterday and today a distance of about 60 miles has been along the bed of a subterranean branch of Red River. . . ." Hence, if we subtract their distance of 34 miles on the preceding day from 60, the remainder would be about 26 miles. Their actual distance travelled, however, was probably nearer 30 miles, and their camp of this evening was probably about 21-22 miles above the junction of Ute Creek and the Canadian. The reason for these estimates will be explained below.

#### *August 4*

The party continued down Ute Creek and, according to James' *Diary*, "Our morning's march of about 16 miles has brought us to a place where the water of the river emerges from the sand and runs above ground in a stream of considerable magnitude." This is slightly different from his statement in the *Account*, where he comments that "The stream was still very inconsiderable in magnitude. . . ." <sup>109</sup> Be that as it may, it seems quite likely that this location was on Ute Creek in the extreme southern part of present-day Harding County, for here, 5 to 6 miles above the junction with the Canadian, are several springs on the bank, and running water in the stream bed of Ute Creek. <sup>110</sup>

The total distance James estimated they had travelled from their camp of August 1 corresponds very closely to the actual distance they must have covered, as I compute it. Using a millimeter scale, I measured the distance on the most

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108. *Ibid.*, p. 93.

109. James, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

110. For this information I am indebted to Mr. Zane Spiegel, geologist at the New Mexico Institute of Mining and Technology, Socorro, who has detailed knowledge of lower Ute Creek, and of the Canadian from the confluence of Ute Creek to the Texas line.

James' further statement that the water was "excessively turbid" suggests that at least some of it was surface runoff from storms in the area. Since this could have come from other sources, the beginning of stream flow noted by the party is not necessarily to be equated with the location of the springs; it is, however, distinctly suggestive.

accurate maps<sup>111</sup> at my disposal, from the probable site of the party's camp of August 1 on Ute Creek, to the junction of this stream and the Canadian River. Taking into account most of the sinuosities—ignoring none but the most minute—I computed the distance to be slightly over 85 miles. The distance estimated by James (60 miles on August 2 and 3, plus 16 miles on the morning of August 4) plus the 5 or 6 miles from the beginning of stream flow to the junction with the Canadian, gives a total of 81 or 82 miles—a remarkably close correspondence.

Continuing on their way, the party must have come upon the Canadian before the end of the day. It is apparent, however, that they did not immediately appreciate this fact, although they were not long in coming to this realization. (Their itinerary, as shown on Major Long's map,<sup>112</sup> indicates that they arrived at the Canadian on August 4). For one thing, there is no mention in either James' *Diary* or *Account* of any junction of the creek they were following with a larger stream. For another thing, there is a tone of uncertainty in the entry in James' *Diary* on August 5 that seems rather puzzling. On the 4th, after describing the stream flow they had encountered in Ute Creek that day, James remarked, "The general direction of its course inclining still towards the southeast, we were now induced to believe it [the stream they were on—Ute Creek] must be one of the most considerable of the upper tributaries of Red River."<sup>113</sup> However, in his *Diary*, the entry for the next day, August 5, reads in part as follows: "For two or three days we have been traveling on a large and apparently much frequented Indian road. . . . This and other circumstances induce us to believe that we are now on the main Red River and not on one of its branches as we had at first supposed. . . ." <sup>114</sup>

There would seem to be only one logical explanation—the

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111. A.M.S. Maps, "Dalhart" and "Tucumcari."

112. In James, *Account*.

113. James, *Account*, Vol. 2, p. 94.

114. James, *Diary*.

party must have missed the actual junction of Ute Creek and the Canadian. Lower Ute Creek is in a deep canyon and enters the Canadian almost at a right angle. The Canadian is much wider and is obviously a *river*—not a creek. It also flows in a vertical-walled canyon which here averages more than 100 feet in depth.<sup>115</sup> Thus, had Long and his party followed Ute Creek all the way to its mouth, they could not possibly have missed the junction, and there would have been no occasion for their remarks indicating uncertainty. One must assume, therefore, that the Indian “road” or “trace” the party had been following veered to the east away from Ute Creek at some distance above the junction, and cut across diagonally to the Canadian. Thus, the party could have lost sight of the one stream for a few miles, missed the junction completely, and then come upon the Canadian without immediately realizing they were on a different stream. By the time they had followed the latter for a day or so, however, this had no doubt become apparent to them from the large size of the valley, the consistent stream flow, and the generally eastward—rather than south to southeastward—direction of the stream.

Finally, James’ description of their journey down the Canadian during the first several days after leaving Ute Creek, confirms the view that their route to the Canadian had indeed been via this creek rather than “Major Long’s Creek.” As a single specific point one could mention the difficult terrain crossed by the party on the morning of August 8. James described steep and rocky ravines, the meandering course of the Canadian, “winding about the points of rocky and impassable promontories,” the conditions being so difficult that they had to cross and re-cross the river several times in order to proceed downstream. According to Spiegel, James’ description applies to the area where the Canadian crosses the Matador Uplift in western Oldham County, Texas, a few miles east of the present New Mexico line. The con-

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115. These descriptive details of the confluence of Ute Creek and the Canadian River have been supplied by Zane Spiegel. (Correspondence with Z. Spiegel, December 15, 1961.)

ditions James described are simply not repeated below the junction of "Major Long's Creek." In Spiegel's opinion, moreover, there is a close resemblance of the geographic details in James' entire *Account* for the days from August 4 to 10 to the geography of the Canadian River from Ute Creek to Tascosa, in Oldham County, Texas (a few miles east of the confluence of "Major Long's Creek"). This, then, is further evidence that the party's southward journey to the Canadian could not have been via "Major Long's Creek."

Thus ends this attempt at elucidating one segment of Major Long's route. In years to come, ever more searching analysis will doubtless clarify other details which are as yet obscure. A signal contribution could be made by a team of cooperating specialists—a historian, a geologist, and perhaps a botanist—critically evaluating all pertinent observations from the available records. An attempt to use such data *in the field* in retracing the route of Major Long's expedition would go far toward resolving those parts that are still obscure or controversial. Only in this way can the definitive treatment be written.

## JOHN J. PERSHING: FRONTIER CAVALRYMAN

By DONALD SMYTHE, S. J.\*

On June 12, 1886, John J. Pershing graduated from the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. Academically his record there had been middling: thirtieth in a class of seventy-seven. But in leadership and soldierliness he had been unsurpassed. He graduated as First Captain of Cadets and the man picked by his classmates as most likely to become their first general.<sup>1</sup>

Five branches of service were open to top graduates of the Academy: engineering, ordnance, artillery, cavalry, and infantry. Not being a top graduate, Pershing's choice was restricted to the last three. It probably didn't bother him much. He had always been a superb horseman (few people ever looked better astride a charger) and made his choice without hesitation. He picked the cavalry—specifically the 6th Cavalry, then on duty in the southwest hunting Geronimo.

The 6th Cavalry had a long and illustrious history. Organized in 1861, it had served at Antietam, Fredericksburg, Gettysburg, and Cold Harbor. After the Civil War it had seen action throughout the Southwest and, after 1875, in Arizona, where during Pershing's last year at West Point it was busy chasing Apaches. The possibility that he might see immediate active service against the Apaches was one reason why Pershing picked the 6th Cavalry.<sup>2</sup>

Another reason was that he felt that promotion might be more rapid there. Pershing was frankly very ambitious. He was not the type to do his duty with supreme disregard

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1. Col. Halsey E. Yates to the author, May 24, 1962, quoting a remark of a Pershing classmate to him.

2. William H. Carter, *From Yorktown to Santiago with the Sixth U.S. Cavalry* (Baltimore, 1900), pp. 9-241; John J. Pershing, "Autobiography," ch. iii (December, 1937), p. 18, in John J. Pershing Papers (Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.), Box 380. The Pershing Papers and their box numbers will hereinafter be cited thus: JJP, 380, and the Pershing "Autobiography," thus: PA.

I wish to thank Mr. Francis Warren Pershing, General Pershing's son, for permission to quote from the Pershing Papers.



of his own career or with happy indifference as to whether promotion would follow. He was always calculating which were the opportunities that favored advancement, always forwarding to his superiors good reports about himself which recommended promotion. Anyone doubting this has simply to consult the "Application for Promotion" folder which is found in the Pershing Papers at the Library of Congress.<sup>3</sup>

On September 30, 1886, Pershing began service at Fort Bayard, a small post of adobe brick in southwest New Mexico, eight miles from Silver City (then in its heyday as a prosperous mining town) and seventy miles from the Mexican border. It was in frontier country: dry alkali sand, networks of canyons, and rock-strewn mountains. There was broiling heat by day and nipping cold by night. It was precisely the type of country and the kind of climate which Pershing was to encounter thirty years later when he led a punitive expedition across the Mexican border in Chihuahua after Pancho Villa.

At the time, however, it was not Mexicans the 6th Cavalry was chasing, but Indians. True, Geronimo, the great Apache leader, had surrendered on September 4, 1886, over three weeks before Pershing came to Fort Bayard. But Mangas, one of the minor chiefs, was still free and roaming; since it made no difference to the scattered white settlers whether they were killed by the supreme war lord of the Apaches or by some lesser chief (they were dead just the same), Mangas had to be hunted down and disposed of. In October, 1886, therefore, soon after Pershing's arrival at Bayard, two Cavalry troops, including Pershing's Troop L, went out to scout for Mangas in the Mogollón Mountains to the northwest of Bayard.<sup>4</sup>

The details of the preparations for the trip were left to

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3. JJP, 281.

I am indebted to Mrs. Seth Cook, of Washington, D.C., and Mrs. Mary Ann Rose Harbottle, of San Diego, California, both of whom were at Fort Bayard with Pershing, for reading the manuscript on this period. I wish also to thank Marion F. Humphrey, Jr., who interviewed Mrs. Harbottle for me.

4. PA, ch. iv (December, 1937), pp. 3-4; JJP, 380.

Pershing. With the help of an "excellent" first sergeant of many years' experience, ten days rations were prepared and everything made ready to go. But when the day of departure came, Pershing discovered to his surprise a marked difference between the army as conceived at West Point with its spit and polish and troops as they were in the actual conditions of a frontier post. A number of the men, including the first sergeant, had prepared for taking the field by patronizing the post trader's bar more liberally than usual. Pershing was "amazed" at the condition of some of the soldiers before him and at their raffish appearance in a variety of hats and leggings. He must have been surprised, too, the next morning, to find that the horses had not been hobbled when grazing, and, startled by a noise, had stampeded during the night. "It was a somewhat embarrassing situation to find ourselves," he remarked; "cavalrymen afoot in such a wild country with not a horse in sight."<sup>5</sup>

By noon the following day the horses were all rounded up, and the march resumed for Mangas. Sobered up and dried out by now, the soldiers were reliable and efficient—once recovered from their spree. But Pershing understood why men would be tempted to go on a drunk at the prospect of an Indian campaign in New Mexico. It was sometimes forty to fifty miles from one water hole to the next, and often necessary to make "dry camp." The sun beat down unmercifully, squeezing the water out of horses and men and drying their skin, while the dust from the broad alkali flats parched throats and combined with wind to crack lips, ears, and faces. Sometimes the horses were so crazed with thirst when a water hole was reached that the men had to beat them back with rifle butts until they themselves had drunk. At other times Indians poisoned a water hole by throwing in carcasses of dead animals. The men then would boil the water; this killed the germs, but the smell and the taste were still bad, even when mixed with coffee. They were probably not too unhappy, therefore, when, after three weeks of campaigning,

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5. *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

they heard that Mangas had been captured in Arizona, after a pursuit which covered six mountain ranges. They returned to Fort Bayard.<sup>6</sup>

Shortly after this, Pershing was again sent out from Bayard, this time in charge of a detachment to locate heliograph stations from Fort Bayard to Fort Stanton, 150 miles east-northeast, as the crow flies. In a country as wide open as New Mexico, with its recurrent history of Indian troubles, rapid communications between frontier posts regarding Indian and troop movements was important, and the heliograph (a device for telegraphing by means of the sun's rays reflected from a mirror) was a convenient and inexpensive means for this.

The system, however, required care in placing the stations; they had to be high in the mountains or hills (sometimes 6,000 to 7,000 feet above sea level), about twenty-five miles apart, and fairly accessible for supplying the three to eight men usually stationed there. The job took a month, and when Pershing arrived at Fort Stanton, friends noticed his sunburned face and skin bronzed from long periods under the sun. Unfortunately, there was never any reason to use the heliograph stations after Pershing had established them.<sup>7</sup>

(After Geronimo was captured, General Nelson A. Miles explained to him the use of the heliograph. Geronimo replied that he had often seen the flashes on the mountain heights, but had believed them to be the work of spirits and therefore had carefully avoided going near these points of the mountains.)<sup>8</sup>

With the exception of the short hunt for Mangas and the heliograph assignment, John's duties were routine and confined to the post. "Bayard is a nice, six-company post," he wrote to a friend; "is regimental headquarters, good location,

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6. George MacAdam, "The Life of General Pershing," *The World's Work*, XXXVII (January, 1919), 290.

7. PA, ch. iv, p. 5; Julius Penn to class, January 16, 1887, in *First Class Annual of the Class of '86, United States Military Academy, West Point, New York, for the Year 1887* (Poughkeepsie, N.Y., 1887), pp. 58-59.

8. Nelson A. Miles, *Personal Recollections* (Chicago, 1896), p. 523.

surrounding scenery grand, and climate, as far as I know, pleasant, the officers of the 6th and of the garrison, are all good men, most of them married, making this post all that could be desired.”<sup>9</sup> (One of the officers, Captain Adna R. Chaffee, later commanded the American expeditionary forces in China during the Boxer Rebellion and, still later, was the Army Chief of Staff.) Work consisted of troop drills, instructions in tactics, general and garrison courts, boards of survey, and other routine duties. Little of real excitement happened. The thrilling period had ended with the capture of Geronimo just before Pershing came to Bayard.

Except for an occasional Indian scare thereafter, or the arrest of white cattle thieves, or an occasional hunting expedition, field service during Pershing’s four years in New Mexico furnished little actual training in the real work of a soldier, which is fighting. A certain amount of seasoning took place, of course, and learning about life in the real army as opposed to the cadet army at West Point. Pershing remembered undergoing “the rather trying experience through which every young officer had to pass before he learned the ways of the service.”<sup>10</sup> Major General William A. Kobbé told Pershing later: “There is a good deal of nonsense talked about experience. The experience a large majority of our officers got at frontier posts between the Civil and Spanish Wars was pretty worthless.”<sup>11</sup>

One experience Pershing did have, however, and which he probably never forgot, was a lesson in responsibility. When he once asked Captain Harry Cavanaugh if he might borrow his bed roll, the later said, “Sure, go ahead.” Pershing used it, then forgot to return it. Some days afterwards Cavanaugh was suddenly called out to the field and went to the closet to get his bed roll for the journey. When it wasn’t there, and when Cavanaugh learned that Pershing had never brought it back he swore like the trooper that he was. A bed roll con-

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9. Pershing to class, March 9, 1887, in *First Class Annual*, p. 61.

10. *Ibid.*, PA, ch. iv, pp. 2-3.

11. November 4, 1906, JJP, 281.

tained a change of linen, shoes, etc., and taking the field without one was nothing to look forward to. Eventually he tracked Pershing down and gave him a very clear and distinct idea of what he thought of him for his negligence. "And remember, Mister Pershing," he added, "the first thing a man learns in the army is courtesy. It starts from the day you learn the salute."<sup>12</sup>

Pershing seems to have learned the lesson well, judging by the overall impression he made while at Fort Bayard. As one who was his senior officer later explained it: "In those days when a youngster joined a regiment, he was not expected to express himself on military matters until he had some little experience. But there was a certain something in Pershing's appearance and manner which made him an exception to the rule. Within a very short time after he came to the post, a senior officer would turn to him and say: 'Pershing, what do you think of this?' And his opinion was such that we always listened to it. He was quiet, unobtrusive in his opinions. But when asked, he always went to the meat of a question in a few words. From the first he had responsible duties thrown on him. We all learned to respect and like him."<sup>13</sup>

Mary Ann Rose Harbottle, whose father gave Pershing instructions in Indian fighting at Fort Bayard and whose mother filled him with pies and doughnuts when he dropped by for a social call, remembered him pretty much the same way. "Pershing was a very quiet, retiring sort of a man," she said. "He was one of those men whose career meant everything to him. His outstanding characteristics at that time were kindness and honesty and uprightness. He was very good to the enlisted men, i.e., he didn't try to domineer over them. Everyone respected him, both officers and men alike."

Only once did Mrs. Harbottle recall seeing Pershing angry. That was when he saw one of the enlisted men mis-

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12. Interview with Mrs. Seth Cook (Cavanaugh's daughter), March 16, 1961.

13. Quoted in MacAdam, *World's Work*, XXXVII, 290.

treating a horse. "Pershing couldn't stand that," she commented; "he just wouldn't have any of the animals abused."

One other quality which Mrs. Harbottle observed in Pershing (although not until many years later) was his memory for names. In 1927 or 1928, over forty years afterwards, Pershing encountered her again, this time in San Diego. They fell to reminiscing about old times, and Pershing spoke familiarly of her father and the other three men who had given him instructions in Indian fighting at Fort Bayard: Charlie Botton, Henry Lester, and Billy Chamberlain. He called them by name, men whom he had known but casually and had not seen for nearly half a century.<sup>14</sup>

Pershing did not stay long at Fort Bayard, but he enjoyed himself while he did. He liked horseback rides through the country, band concerts, hops, parties, theatricals, and visits to nearby points of interest. One who was Pershing's senior officer recalled that "he was genial and full of fun. No matter what the work or what the play, he always took a willing, leading part. He was punctilious in his observance of post duties; always keen for detachment work; glad to help get up a hop, go on a picnic with the ladies, romp with the children, or sit in a game of poker. He worked hard, and he played hard, but if he had work to do, he never let play interfere with it."<sup>15</sup>

The remark about poker has a history behind it. Pershing was never much of a poker player before he came to Bayard; in fact, he did not even learn the game until he arrived there. As a boy in Laclede, Missouri, experience with cards had been limited to an occasional game of eucre or seven-up on rainy days, played in the barn loft with other boys. At Bayard the officers usually played a game of poker in the evening for moderate stakes, and Pershing looked on occasionally, but never participated.

One evening, however, an officer was called out suddenly

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14. All quotations and recollections of Mrs. Harbottle are from a tape recorded interview of September 28, 1961.

15. MacAdam, *World's Work*, XXXVII, 290.

and asked Pershing to sit in for him. Pershing insisted that he knew nothing about the game, but the other was equally insistent. No doubt feeling that if his companion had so little regard for his own money as to entrust it to a rank novice, he deserved to lose, Pershing sat in. When the friend returned, however, he had won "a considerable sum." Thereafter Pershing played frequently and with great interest. "I began to see poker hands in my sleep," he confessed. This convinced him that it was about time to drop the game; after that he played rarely during the rest of his life.<sup>16</sup>

On August 11, 1887, Troop L of the 6th Cavalry was transferred to Fort Stanton. Life here was less formal than at Bayard, as the garrison was smaller, almost like one big family. Of the four years Pershing spent in New Mexico, he liked his stay at Fort Stanton best. A roommate, Julius Penn, described it as "one of the prettiest posts in the West," the only objection being the distance (one hundred miles) from the nearest railroad and from any large town.<sup>17</sup> Located near the Mescalero Apache reservation (as a precaution against the Indians), Fort Stanton was also located near excellent hunting and fishing areas. Pershing and two companions caught 24 trout in six hours one day. "We lived like Kings," he said contentedly. "We have milk, quail, wild turkey, a wagon load of vegetables, potatoes, carrots, turnips, onions—quarts stuffed with them,—plenty of grain and hay, good water, plenty of wood, and lots of *medicine, a field glass full*.—I haven't been sick yet."<sup>18</sup> Later he added: "It seems to be universal that every one had pleasant memories of that old place [Fort Stanton]. It is unsurpassed in many things, hunting, fishing, location, and spooning."<sup>19</sup>

While Pershing liked to hunt, it appears that he was not always successful. Mrs. Frank Lisnet, a warmhearted woman

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16. FA, ch. iv, p. 6.

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8; Penn in *First Class Annual*, p. 59.

18. Julius Penn to his mother and sister, September 5, 1887, JJP, 282; Pershing to Julius Penn, October 16, 1887, JJP, 282. Several words in the latter letter are expurgated after the phrase, "The only thing lacking is. . ."

19. Pershing to Julius Penn, November 10, 1890, JJP, 282.

with a thick Irish brogue, told in later years of the time when Lieutenants Pershing, Penn, and Paddock stopped off at the Lisnet inn on a hunting trip. (A wag dubbed them "The Three Green Peas" because they were "such utter tenderfeet.")<sup>20</sup> Pershing shot one of the Lisnet pigs, apparently thinking or (so he said) that it was a ferocious wild boar!

Remonstrating angrily, Mrs. Lisnet accused "Leftinant" Pershing of killing the pig deliberately, knowing it was hers, and planning to pass it off at Fort Stanton later as a wild boar. "Thim fellers at the fort'd niver know the difference," she said.

Her husband served the part of peacemaker and let Pershing off without paying for the pig. "He's a grand officer, Mary. I wouldn't give a dom' if he killed the whole herd."

Over twenty years later Pershing, now a brigadier general, again returned to the area, visiting Roswell, New Mexico, on an inspection tour. Whom should he encounter on the streets there but Mrs. Lisnet.

"How do you do, Mrs Lisnet!" he called jovially as he came up. "Remember me?"

"Sure, and that I do," was the instant reply. "Ye're the leftinant that was always killing me pigs!"<sup>21</sup>

In the fall of 1887 occurred an exception to what was said above about a lack of practical training at the frontier posts of the Southwest. General Nelson A. Miles, commanding the Department of Arizona, organized practice maneuvers to teach the troops some of the craftiness, concealment, and swiftness of the Indians, and to train them in methods of pursuit and capture. While dignified with the name of "field maneuvers," they were really old-fashioned games of "cowboy and Indians," or, as the soldiers called them, "rabbit hunts." Pershing took part in them and did well. This is how the training was carried out:

One detachment was designated "the raiders"; another, "the pursuers." The raiders left at twelve noon and had an

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20. Sophie A. Poe, *Buckboard Days* (Caldwell, Idaho, 1936), p. 279.

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 230-31 and 280-81.



eighteen-hour head start towards a specified post to be raided; then the pursuers set out after them. A post was considered raided if the raiders came within a thousand yards of its flagstaff in daylight without detection. Raiders were considered captured whenever a detachment of similar strength reached within hailing distance or bugle call. Posts to be raided were assigned in advance and a general route more or less prescribed, but within that limitation the raider commander had wide discretion. Defenders used heliographs, telegraphs, couriers, etc., just as they would do in pursuing Indians. When one group of pursuers tired, another took its place in the chase. Raiders, on their part, bribed citizens to make false reports of their passing, or gave out false information gratuitously, hoping it would be relayed and mislead the pursuers when the latter passed by. Raiders used old Indian tricks, like riding in stream beds to conceal their trail, or tying gunny sacks over horses' hoofs, or destroying tracks by driving herds of cattle over them. Sometimes they dropped off a trail one by one, until a very small party was being chased by the pursuers; the main contingent of raiders, meanwhile, had rendezvoused at some preappointed place.

Regardless of how the contest sounded in theory, the cards were really stacked in favor of the pursuers, as they could travel at all hours, while the raiders were limited to the period from noon to midnight. Also, the latter's line of march was more or less prescribed. Capture, then, was a foregone conclusion, as long as the trail could be followed, unless the raiders scattered so much that it was impossible to cover all the trails. On the other hand, if the pursuers spread themselves too thin in trying to cover all trails, they in turn were subject to capture if they encountered a larger body of raiders. In that case the pursuers became the pursued (as in real Indian warfare); and sometimes pursuers found their quarries after a hard ride, only to discover themselves outnumbered and therefore captured. The idea was to simulate Indian warfare, to familiarize the men with the country, to give them experience in field maneuvers, and to make

something of a game out of what was real work. Special orders were given not to break down the animals, but to bring them back after a campaign in good condition.<sup>22</sup>

At noon on September 17, 1887, Lieutenant George L. Scott, an experienced Indian fighter, rode out of Fort Stanton, leading the "raiders." Eighteen hours later, Pershing left the fort, leading the "pursuers." Scott was easy to follow on the first day. But instead of heading directly for his goal, Fort Bayard (west-southwest from Fort Stanton), he shrewdly veered off about forty-five degrees, heading west-northwest.

On the second day the trail was very difficult to follow. Scott was crafty. He was leading his pursuers across the malpais, an ancient stream of lava, thirty miles long and five miles wide, solidified and seamed and hard as rock. Animals left no hoof marks; it was impossible to follow a trail.

Pershing gambled on the supposition that Scott was making for San Antonio (New Mexico) and the bridge there across the Rio Grande. He abandoned the attempt to follow a trail and led his command overland to the pass in the Oscuro Mountains, which lay on the direct route. They found that Scott had camped there.

Pushing on, they rode across the Jornada del Muerto (Journey of Death), a waterless, treeless plain about forty-five miles wide and 150 miles long. That night they made a dry camp. On the third day, September 20, just as Pershing rode across the bridge over the Rio Grande, he saw Scott leaving San Antonio. With a burst of speed, Pershing's men caught the raiders a few miles west of town.<sup>23</sup>

After resting a few days at San Antonio, the roles were reversed. Pershing's detachment became the raiders and set out with a head start for Fort Bayard on September 25. Scott's detachment followed in pursuit eighteen hours later.

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22. Miles, pp. 537-40 and 543; MacAdam, *World's Work*, XXXVII, 291-92; *Annual Report of the Secretary of War for the Year 1888* (Washington, D.C. 1888), I, 125-27.

23. General Order 39, Department of Arizona, December 24, 1887, pp. 4 and 13; JJP, 315; PA, ch. iv, pp. 9-10; MacAdam, *World's Work*, XXXVII, 292.

Pershing made good progress, escaping capture on the first and the second day, and covered 110 miles before he made camp in the Black Mountains northeast of Fort Bayard. The Apaches had raided through that country not too long before and the settlers were still wary of them. As Pershing was eating his field breakfast of bacon, bread, and coffee on the third day, an old prospector strolled into camp and inquired whether the presence of the soldiers meant that the Indians were on the warpath again. Pershing said no, but no sooner were the words out of his mouth than Scott's detachment hove into sight and celebrated their success by letting out a series of Indian war whoops. "Good God, Captain," exclaimed the prospector, "the Indians are on you" and he took to his heels. Scott enjoyed the incident when he rode into camp.<sup>24</sup>

It was not inevitable that pursuers always captured raiders, though this usually occurred. Pershing missed Captain Bill Wallace's raiders completely once, but redeemed himself by capturing them a week later.<sup>25</sup> "Have ridden over 40 miles today," Pershing wrote from his camp at Eagle Creek, "and think that . . . it will be impossible for Capt. Wallace to get his command through here, unless he scatters them like hell, and he's got to do that in the day time and I'll catch a few of them."<sup>26</sup>

Pershing took favorably to the maneuvers and thought they were good training. His men enjoyed them, though it often meant long hours in the saddle. Once they covered 130 miles in forty hours, with seven hours in camp on the first night and only three on the second. Yet every horse and mule finished the exercise in good condition, and General Miles complimented Pershing and his men for the accomplishment.<sup>27</sup>

The last three months of 1888 Pershing spent on leave, most of the time in Lincoln, Nebraska. There for the first

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24. G. O. 39, pp. 6 and 14; PA, ch. iv, p. 10.

25. PA (the first version, 1933), pp. 56-57; JJP, 372; G. O. 39, p. 15; Miles, p. 541.

26. Pershing to Penn, October 16, 1887, JJP, 282.

27. PA, ch. iv, p. 10; Everett T. Tomlinson, *The Story of General Pershing* (New York, 1919), p. 48.

time he met William (Buffalo Bill) Cody, then, as always, memorable for his buckskin suit, broad sombrero, and prominent goatee. Later he and Pershing knew one another more intimately as aides on the staff of the State Governor. It was at Lincoln, in December, 1888, that John joined the Masonic Order.<sup>28</sup>

In January, 1889, Pershing was transferred from Fort Stanton to Fort Wingate, headquarters of the 6th Cavalry, located in northwestern New Mexico. Near the fort was a reservation of Zuñi Indians. On May, 1889, word reached the fort that the Zuñis, usually peaceable, were under arms and besieging white men at the S ranch. Pershing was ordered to take a detachment of ten men, go immediately to the ranch, and rescue the white men from the Indians.<sup>29</sup>

After a hard ride, Pershing's detachment saw a little clearing surrounded by about one hundred Indians firing a steady fusillade at a log cabin in the center. Pershing rode up and hailed the Indians. They were greatly excited and angry. The white men in the cabin, they explained, had tried to steal a herd of the Zuñi horses, and, being discovered, had killed some of their people in a running fight; the Indians were determined to take the murderers dead or alive.

Pershing, for his part, explained his orders to rescue the white men and bring them back under arrest to Fort Wingate. It was no easy task to persuade the Zuñi chiefs to permit this; to see known thieves and killers ride off safely and unpunished was not according to their Indian code of swift justice. For a moment it looked as if an attempt to remove the white men would bring on a clash with the Zuñis. But the chiefs finally agreed reluctantly and ordered the fusillade against the cabin stopped.

Pershing's next task was to get the white men inside to

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28. PA, ch. iv, p. 11; T. R. Wade (Secretary of Cypress Lodge No. 227, Laclede, Missouri) to the author, May 16, 1960. Special Order 47, Division of the Pacific, September 3, 1888; JJP, 315; S. O. 261, Adjutant General's Office, November 8, 1888 (National Archives, Washington, D.C.), 5687 Appointments, Commissions, Appointments 86, filed with 3849 A. C. A. 86. The National Archives is hereinafter cited thus: NA.

29. S. O. 2, District of New Mexico, January 12, 1889, JJP, 315; Orders No. 85, Fort Wingate, New Mexico, May 9, 1889, JJP, 315.

surrender their arms and accompany him in arrest back to Fort Wingate. He walked to the cabin, demanded their guns, and assured them of his protection against the hostile Zuñis. His assurances must have seemed pretty weak to the thoroughly frightened prisoners; they saw one hundred armed and angry Indians arrayed against only ten American soldiers. But, as they were doomed inevitably if they stayed where they were, they decided to take their chances with Pershing.

The critical stage, of course, was when they all stepped outside to pass through the crowd of Zuñis who gathered around threateningly. There was no telling when some young, hot-blooded buck would pump a bullet into their midst, and what wild melee would follow if that happened—one shot liable to touch off a general engagement! Pershing knew that the escape must be done quickly, with efficiency, and with no show of fear. On the way in he had said to one of his men, "We are going to take those men away and if these bucks get hostile remember *we mean business*." He gave an example of a "cool head" now. He put the prisoners on a buckboard, mounted his men on either side, and road through the lines of threatening braves. There were no shots fired and the detachment reached Fort Wingate safely.<sup>30</sup>

Colonel Carr, commanding Fort Wingate, commended Pershing for successfully handling a touchy assignment. Pershing appreciated the commendation, but must have wondered afterwards if Indian justice was not better, after all, than white man justice. Of the three horse thieves and murderers, one escaped from the guard house, and the other two were later released without punishment.<sup>31</sup>

In September, 1889, Pershing was transferred back to Fort Stanton, his favorite post. "Everything lovely here," he reported. "Kingsbury's wife among the loveliest—She is not pretty, but as nice as she can be,—great addition to the

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30. PA, ch. iv, p. 12; MacAdam, *World's Work*, XXXVII, 293; D. J. Dolson to Pershing, October 22, 1906, JJP, 281.

31. PA, ch. iv, p. 12; Col. Eugene A. Carr's efficiency report on Pershing, May 1, 1890 (NA), filed with 3849 A. C. P. 86.

regiment—Paddock and I live at the same old places—We had our sisters out to see us last Month [Richard B. Paddock married John's sister, Grace, eighteen months later]—We turned the post upside down.—I went to El Paso with the girls—Mr. and Mrs. Cockrill were there—We had a great time—”<sup>32</sup>

At Fort Stanton, Pershing fulfilled a promise he had made before to Colonel Carr. The latter was very fond of hunting, especially for bears, which were plentiful near Fort Wingate. Pershing had mentioned once that a family living near there specialized in training dogs for bear hunting. When Pershing was ordered back to Fort Stanton, Carr asked him to buy one of these dogs and ship it to him. This he did. Spending fifty dollars of Colonel Carr's money, he purchased what the sellers called a “wonder,” had him carefully crated, and sent him to Carr at Wingate. Carr, in turn, then organized a bear hunt, inviting some of his staff, and promised good sport and a bear meat feast—all because of the new dog which Pershing had bought.

The hunt began and before long a bear was spied. The dog was brought forward, took one look at his adversary (standing on its hind legs and roaring ferociously), turned tail, and ran all the way back to the post. It was a long time before Pershing heard the end of that incident.<sup>33</sup>

Despite this, Colonel Carr gave Pershing a good rating on the efficiency report he wrote in 1890:

professional ability: most excellent  
attention to duty: most excellent  
general conduct and habits: most excellent  
condition and discipline of men under his immediate control:  
most excellent  
his care and attention to their welfare: most excellent  
any particular fitness or marked ability for college, recruiting  
or other detail: Yes, for a college detail.<sup>34</sup>

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32. Pershing to Julius Penn, November 24, 1889, JJP, 282.

33. PA, ch. iv, p. 15.

34. Carr's efficiency report on Pershing, May 1, 1890.

Colonel Carr commended Pershing for two other qualities in this report. One was "studious habits." The first published article of Pershing's career had appeared in the *Journal of the U.S. Cavalry Association* the year before. In September, 1889, he asked to attend the infantry and cavalry school at Fort Leavenworth and was recommended by Colonel Carr, but did not get the assignment. Denied this, on his own Pershing undertook a reading program covering the cavalry, modern tactics reconnaissance, topography, and the campaigns of the Civil War. He wrote Julius Penn at Fort Leavenworth, requesting him to forward the whole course as taught there "from first to last."<sup>35</sup>

The other point for which Pershing was commended was his "great interest in rifle, carbine, and pistol practice." He had ranked as a "Marksman" in the 1887 competitions, and as a "Sharpshooter" during the following two years. In 1890 he ranked as "Marksman" again, and in 1891 as "Distinguished Marksman." Pershing's own interest in straight shooting was contagious. More than once he took a group which stood low or last in target practice, and by his instruction and his own enthusiasm, raised it to the top of the regiment. His emphasis on accurate shooting was to be life-long.<sup>36</sup>

Pershing's happy stay at Fort Stanton was threatened in August, 1890, by a department order dissolving Troop L (his troop). Fearing lest his assignment to a new troop would mean his being assigned to a different post, John wrote his regimental commander, Colonel Carr, asking to be assigned to Troop D (also stationed at Fort Stanton). Troop D had an officer shortage, said Pershing, solicitously. Colonel Carr forwarded John's request to the Department Commander with an interesting comment on human motivation: "Respectfully forwarded. Disapproved. This officer wrote me a private letter saying that he had invested in mines near Fort Stan-

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35. John J. Pershing, "Competitions for 1889," *Journal of the U.S. Cavalry Association*, II (December, 1889), 420; Col. Eugene A. Carr to the Adjutant General of the Army, February 17, 1889 (NA), 1015 A. C. P. 89; Pershing's own efficiency report on himself, May 1, 1890 (NA), 3849 A. G. O. 86; Pershing to Penn, November 10, 1890, JJP, 282.

36. PA, ch. iv, p. 12; marksman certificates in JJP, 315.

ton, and wanted to remain there to look after his interests. I replied that I wished him success in his financial enterprises; but that they should not interfere with his duties." Colonel Carr recommended that Pershing be transferred to Troop A (stationed at Fort Wingate).<sup>37</sup>

To Fort Wingate then went Pershing. "Well, I am back here again, 'L' troop having ascended," he wrote Julius Penn on September 30, 1890. "This post is a S. O. B. and no question,—tumbled down, old quarters, though Stots [Lt. John M. Stotsenburg] is repairing as fast as he can. The winters are severe,—It is always bleak and the surrounding country is barren absolutely—"

He also chided his friend in the same letter, showing a sense of humor which, in later life, few people suspected he had. "I have not heard from you for some time. . . . And I have been asked by several people if you were not dead—the rumor having got around some way—I have not heard of your demise, nor seen your obituary. . . . Let me hear from you."<sup>38</sup>

In late October an old friend arrived at Fort Wingate—Chauncey Baker, class of '86, U.S. Military Academy. With him came Brigadier General Alexander McG. McCook and Thomas J. Morgan (respectively Commander of the Department of Arizona and U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs), on their way to visit the Navaho and Hopi reservations. Pershing was detailed to escort them with a small detachment.

At Keams Canyon, New Mexico, a large number of Indians assembled to meet the General and the Indian Commissioner; they celebrated the meeting by holding athletic contests in the afternoon—footraces, horseraces (they ran a winning horse repeatedly, until he was worn out), and wrestling. Chauncey Baker, a great teaser, told the Indians that Pershing was a champion wrestler, and the latter soon found he had a challenge on his hands. Not trusting his wrestling

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37. Pershing to the Assistant Adjutant General, Department of Arizona, August 20, 1890, and Col. Eugene A. Carr's endorsement on this letter, August 22, 1890, JJP, 315.

38. Pershing to Julius Penn, September 30, 1890, JJP, 282.



prowess in an engagement with some powerful brave, he excused himself by saying that he was a runner, not a wrestler. That was all right with the Indians. They promptly put their champion runner up against him. Caught and unable to back out without losing face, Pershing stripped down to about as little clothing as the Indian, and made ready for the race.

The distance was stepped off, Chauncey Baker and an old Indian chief were selected as judges, and bets were placed. The Indians wagered heavily on their man and the small group of white soldiers backed Pershing with their money. When the starting signal was given, both men dashed off and were even for about the first fifty yards. After that Pershing slowly pulled away and ended several paces ahead, winning the race.<sup>39</sup>

His finish was rather unorthodox. He had a trick ankle due to a sprain at West Point and, as he neared the finish line, his ankle gave out, so that he rolled rather than ran across the finish line. But the Indians made no difficulty about the form of the finish and conceded that the white man had won. They offered a rematch, which Pershing prudently declined.<sup>40</sup>

On November 23, 1890, the 6th Cavalry received orders to prepare to move north. Trouble had broken out in South Dakota. Some three thousand Indians from the Rosebud and Pine Ridge Reservations had fled from their homes and taken refuge in the Badlands. They were well armed and had posted themselves on a high mesa, inaccessible except by a few miles and by a wagon road. There they waited the appearance of an Indian "Messiah," who would make them immune to soldiers' bullets and lead them in retaking their lands from the whites and in driving the latter from the country. To the North, on the Cheyenne and Standing Rock Reservations, other Indians were preparing to join their com-

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39. Same to same, November 10, 1890; PA, ch. iv, pp. 17-18.

40. Avery DeLano Andrews, *My Friend and Classmate, John J. Pershing, with Notes from My War Diary* (Harrisburg, Pa., 1939), pp. 42-43.

rades in the Badlands. A full-scale Indian uprising was in the offing.<sup>41</sup>

The 6th Cavalry left New Mexico on December 1 and detrained in Rapid City, South Dakota, on December 9. There they waited for their winter clothing—so different from what they had been used to in the sunny Southwest—fur-lined caps and gloves, heavy felt socks, blanket-lined canvas overcoats, arctic overshoes. These issued, they were in the saddle and riding to quash what was to be the last great Indian uprising in the United States.

Their aim was to throw a cordon of troops around the Badlands, prevent new bands from joining the other renegades, and starve those inside into submission. They were “almost constantly in the saddle,” Pershing recalled, “patrolling and scouting in every direction.”<sup>42</sup> It was bitter winter and they were outside all the time. Old campaigners of the Civil War declared that from the standpoint of physical endurance the campaign in the Badlands of Dakota was the hardest they had ever gone through. Snow, sleet, and wind, ice in the rivers which had to be forded on horseback, hurried and forced marches, each night a new camp and not always in tents, the weather generally freezing and often below zero, sleeping with their clothes on, bathing only occasionally, always on the alert, always riding to investigate a rumor, troops split up and isolated, and always the possibility of a massacre—such was the campaign of the Ghost Dance Rebellion, as it came to be called.<sup>43</sup>

Men let their beards grow long as protection against the cold, and their appetites grew in proportion to their beards. Pershing's became “enormous.” Breakfast was a large pie plate heaped with bacon, beans and hardbread and washed down with a quart of steaming coffee; lunch, whatever could be stuffed into the saddle bags and eaten on the way; supper, heaps of beef, potatoes, and other substantials. “I could not

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41. Carter, pp. 256-57; FA, ch. v (June, 1936), pp. 1-5, JJP, 380.

42. FA, ch. v, pp. 5-6; MacAdam, *World's Work*, XXXVII, 293.

43. MacAdam, *World's Work*, XXXVII (February, 1919), 451 and 458.

now eat in four days what I did then in one," Pershing said later, and the twenty pounds he gained in two months seemed to prove him right. But he was solid and hardy and in fighting trim at the end of that campaign.<sup>44</sup>

On Christmas day they received bad news: Big Foot's band (many of whom had been in on the kill at Custer's Last Stand and who had never been tamed) had escaped the 8th Cavalry and were headed south. Could the 6th Cavalry intercept them and cut them off before they united and consolidated with other Indians?

A much-used trail passed down Porcupine Creek to the South. Pershing suggested to Major Emil Adams, the squadron commander, that Big Foot would probably come that way. Adam disagreed and posted soldiers on another trail a few miles west. "But for fate," Pershing complained afterwards, "the 6th Cavalry would have captured Big Foot's band. . . . [We] were in camp—the whole battalion—on White River when Big Foot crossed four miles below us.—Had the usual scouting party been sent out next day, his trail would have been cut and he would have been our bacon; or had the previous days [*sic*] march been shorter as we all tried to persuade Adam to make it, we would have cut the trail the succeeding day. Possibly its [*sic*] lucky we did not get him, but I regard it as unlucky."<sup>45</sup>

Big Foot slipped through on the trail Pershing had wanted to watch, but was picked up and captured on December 28th by another squadron. Then, just as they all thought affairs would be settled without bloodshed, came a clash at Wounded Knee Creek to the south, leaving over two hundred casualties. "This came like a thunder-bolt," said Pershing, "as the troops thought by that time that the campaign was going to be ended peaceably." After this, they felt constant fear that some isolated cavalry unit would be surprised and wiped out by overwhelming numbers.<sup>46</sup>

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44. PA, ch. v, p. 8.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 6; Pershing to Julius Penn, February 14, 1891, JJP, 282.

46. PA, ch. v, p. 7.

The only encounter Pershing's troop took part in after the news of Wounded Knee Creek was on January 1, 1891. A reconnaissance troop was attacked while crossing the White River and partially surrounded. Two men, greatly excited, rushed into camp with the alarm. "Boots and Saddles" (the emergency bugle call) was sounded, and two troops (one was Pershing's) rode out at top speed to the rescue. But before they got there, another cavalry squadron, attracted by the shooting, had come to the scene and had begun to drive the Indians off. Pershing arrived only in time to see the Indians disappear.<sup>47</sup>

After several weeks of guarding hostile groups and parleying with them, the troops had a respite. The Messiah craze subsided and the Indians consented to return to their reservations. The troops went into camp at Pine Ridge, South Dakota. Here was relaxation after a hard campaign, meeting with old friends, swapping yarns, and bringing one another up to date on the last five years since leaving West Point. Eight members of the class of '86 held a pleasant reunion. "It would have been more pleasant," said Pershing, "had two or three or four of the boys not gotten a little too full, one of whom I am which.—I never went to a reunion yet that I did not wind up full as eighteen goats."<sup>48</sup>

On January 22, 1891, General Miles held a grand review of all the troops which had participated in the campaign. Although not a relatively large number of men, the review comprised the largest body of troops any of the participants had ever seen at any one place. Pershing felt the Indians must have been glad they had surrendered without a full-scale war.<sup>49</sup>

After the review, all left for their respective stations except the 6th Cavalry, which remained behind a few more weeks to handle some troublesome Indians. Then orders came, assigning five troops of the 6th (including Pershing's Troop

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47. *Ibid.*; Col. Eugene A. Carr to the Assistant Adjutant General, Department of the Platte, April 20, 1891, JJP, 369.

48. Pershing to Penn, February 14, 1891, JJP, 282 (ms. copy).

49. PA, ch. v, p. 8.

A) to Fort Niobrara, Nebraska, just south of the Rosebud Reservation.

Halfway, at Crookston, although there was a little indication of trouble, an old ranchman warned them. "You'd better get into camp soon," he said; "a blizzard's coming!" The air was absolutely still; there was no sign of a storm. They asked the man how he knew. He was not the arguing kind. "This mist isn't in the air for nothing. I've lived out in this country long enough to know what it means. I tell you a blizzard's coming and you'd better get into camp."

The troops obeyed immediately, and not any too soon. The sky darkened, the wind whipped up, and a cold gale blew in from the northwest, carrying snowflakes. Just before the blizzard broke, Pershing came into Sergeant Stevenson's tent, telling him to have his men commandeer some railroad ties for firewood. "Tell your men to tie towels over their mouths and noses before they go out," he said; "otherwise, they won't be able to get their breath in the wind." "That's the sort of an officer Pershing was," Stevenson recalled. "Always thinking about his men, and that's why the men would do anything for him."<sup>50</sup>

Pershing stayed at Fort Niobrara only long enough to re-fit, from February 2 to March 1, 1891. Then he was sent to Pine Ridge, South Dakota, to take charge of a company of Sioux Indian Scouts. There were four companies of these, of about fifty men each, hired by the government at the regular pay for cavalry. Their job was to go wherever disaffection was suspected, watch for gun running and inter-tribal conspiracies, smooth over trouble, and act as go-betweens for the government and the Indians. They were to keep their pulse on Indian affairs, so that an uprising such as had occurred could immediately be detected and checked, or—better—so that discontent would never reach the revolt stage.<sup>51</sup>

This was Pershing's first experience in handling men not

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50. *Ibid.*, p. 9; Mac Adam, *World's Work*, XXXVII, 459.

51. Pershing to the Adjutant General's Office, June 1, 1891 (NA), 3871 A. C. P. 91, filed with 3849 A. C. P. 86; AP, ch. v, pp. 9-10; Mac Adam, *World's Work*, XXXVII, 460.

of his own race and culture. He succeeded in this, just as he succeeded later in his relations with American Negroes and with Philippine Moros. Part of his success may have been due to certain temperamental gifts; some men are naturally adept at getting along with men of different races, while other men botch and blunder and make a mess of things, even when best intentioned. But part of the secret may have been that Sioux Indians, American Negroes, and Philippine Moros, Pershing acted as man to man. He treated them all with a certain fundamental respect as human beings and bore them a sincere friendliness as people. He did not tolerate them; he liked them. And almost universally they liked him in return.

More than once a Sioux Scout appointed himself Pershing's personal bodyguard when they were in dangerous territory. When Pershing visited Wounded Knee Creek, for instance, he saw Indians with "bad hearts" prowling about, wrapped heavily in blankets with hatchets underneath, waiting the chance to avenge themselves on a white man. At night, therefore, a Sioux Scout, unbidden, placed himself outside Pershing's tent, watching carefully as he smoked his pipe that no one approached in the dark to do his commander harm. Even in daylight, when Pershing left the tent, another Scout, without orders, followed closely as a bodyguard. Every time Pershing moved, there was a Scout on his trail.<sup>52</sup>

Compared to the normal army roster, the Scout muster roll was a galaxy of strange names: Thunder Bull, Red Feather, Big Charger, Black Fox, Broken Leg, Crow-on-head, Has-white-face-horse, Yellow Bull, Wounded Horse, Kills Alone, and so on. The Scouts were generally well behaved, though some became unruly from too much drink. When this happened, their non-commissioned officers disciplined them without instructions from Pershing. These officers were selected from those of highest tribal rank, lest any chief's son be

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52. PA, ch. v, p. 11; MacAdam, *World's Work*, XXXVII, 460.

Two months before Pershing's service began, a lieutenant had been murdered while visiting a hostile camp.

subjected to the indignity of being under orders from a common brave.<sup>53</sup>

The Sioux Scouts were enrolled for only six months and were not asked to re-enlist. Pershing always felt that this was a mistake. The Sioux were natural soldiers. They sent out flankers and advance guards with a sureness and naturalness that was instinctive; they approached the crest of each hill cautiously, prepared for a possible enemy just over the top; they would never allow themselves to blunder into a trap. Why not enroll a regiment or two of Indians in the Regular Army, wondered Pershing? It had been done with Negroes with good success. It would bind them to the government and exercise an influence on the others (through their own soldiers) which would otherwise be lacking. Unfortunately, the Sioux Scouts went out of existence soon after Pershing's service with them ended.<sup>54</sup>

This occurred on July 24, 1891. His days as a young frontier cavalryman were over. Ahead of him lay the Spanish-American War and San Juan Hill, service in the Philippines among the Moros of Mindanao, chasing Pancho Villa among the foothills of Mexico, commanding the A.E.F. in France. His brilliant career was to lead him to the highest honors America has ever conferred upon any of her military sons: General of the Armies of the United States. He is equivalently the only six star general in our history.

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53. PA, ch. v, pp. 10-11.

54. *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

# THE SHEEP INDUSTRY IN ARIZONA, 1903

*Edited By* Frank D. Reeve

## *Introduction*

*The American Shepherd's Bulletin* was one of several titles for a journal devoted to the sheep and wool industry in the United States after the Civil War.<sup>1</sup> A reporter under the pseudonym of "The Young Observer" has not been identified,"<sup>2</sup> but his recorded descriptions of the sheep industry in the western states during the early years of the 1900's provide a valuable glimpse of life in the West during the days of the open range. The portions devoted to New Mexico were annotated by William J. Parish for publication.<sup>3</sup> The articles on Arizona, a johnny-come-lately in the sheep industry, are herein presented for the readers who do not have access to the original source.

Prior to the American Civil War Mexican sheepmen failed to maintain their occupation of the grasslands in southern Arizona because of Apache opposition. After the war when American military pressure brought the Indians under control, and even before that was actually accomplished, venturesome men once more began moving their flocks into Arizona.

"The first sheep reintroduced after the Apache outbreaks by a Caucasian was a flock of seven hundred belonging to Juan Candelaria, which he drove from Cubero, New Mexico, to a ranch site selected by him a few miles south of the present town of Concho, in Apache County, in 1866." The term "Caucasian" is essential, of course, because the Navahos had long grazed sheep in the northeastern corner of Arizona. Other flocks soon crossed the Territorial boundary line, utilizing the grass in the upper stretches of the Little Colo-

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1. For a brief discussion see William J. Parish, editor, "Sheep Industry in New Mexico, 1902-03." *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, 37:201-213 (July, 1962)

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Op. Cit.*



rado River Valley around Springerville, Arizona, and the White Mountains.<sup>4</sup>

During the 1860's a few flock masters moved sheep southward from Utah toward the Grand Canyon. In 1871, Jacob Hamblin crossed a flock over the Colorado River at Lee's Ferry and herded it to the valley of the Little Colorado. Sheep from California temporarily sampled the grass in the western part of the Territory, then in 1868 James Baker settled his flock in the Chino Valley. The movement of sheep from the west was stimulated by severe droughts in the Golden State during the early part of the 1860's. In the next decade, sheep continued to move into Arizona from all directions. Mexicans crossed the boundary into the upper San Pedro River Valley. Mormons moved in there with a few dairy herds, and, to make the pattern more sociable, some Texas and California cattlemen utilized grass in that area.

The early sheep drives were marked by a variety of hazards. Despite the presence of the military, there was still some possibility of loss from the Apaches. Bad weather, the wrong type of forage, and scarcity of water when crossing the desert country contributed to the difficulties of the sheepman. The ferry owner levied a toll on his pocketbook, although there was at least one instance when the operator was entitled a gentleman:

Another sheepman, Peter Filance, of Prescott, Arizona, while trailing 4,000 sheep from California, had to utilize a ferry over the Colorado River, whose operator was a keen judge of what the traffic would bear. After being charged \$800 for use of the toll-road and ferry, Filance lodged a complaint, protesting that "this was more than sheepmen could afford in their efforts to settle this country." Whereupon the gentlemanly operator, as Mr. Filance says, "voluntarily paid us back \$400".<sup>5</sup>

The arrival of the railroad hastened the development of

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4. Bert Haskett, "History of the Sheep Industry in Arizona," *ARIZONA HISTORICAL REVIEW*, 7:19 (July, 1936)

5. *Arizona Miner*, June 25, 1875, quoted in C. W. Towne and E. N. Wentworth, *Shepherd's Empire*, pp. 169-170 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1945).

the sheep industry. The Southern Pacific from the west and the Sante Fe from the east provided an inlet for stocking the range in greater numbers and an outlet for transporting the woolies to market. An estimate of numbers in 1890 credited the Territory with about 700,000 sheep. When the Young Observer traveled the country he saw a picture of a pioneer but stable industry.

### *The "Young Observer" In Arizona\**

#### Sheep Breeding and Sheep Men in the Territory—Interviews with Sheep Men—Facts of Interest Regarding Arizona Sheep and Wool

The recent struggle of Arizona for statehood<sup>6</sup> has directed the attention of a great many to that territory, who are wondering whether she is really capable of taking care of her own affairs or not.

The sheep men as a rule are not particularly interested one way or the other, but they are interested in the forest reserve question, and vitally, too.

Mr. Morgan, of Shou Lo [Show Low],<sup>7</sup> Arizona, speaking of this matter, said:

"It is just this way, my friend, I contend that matters are

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\* (From Our Traveling Staff Correspondence) *The American Shepherd's Bulletin*, vol. 8, no. 6, June, 1903.

6. Congress created Arizona Territory in 1863, but statehood was not achieved until 1912. The House of Representatives approved an omnibus bill for Arizona, New Mexico, and Oklahoma in 1902, but a Senate filibuster led by Albert J. Beveridge killed statehood for the time being. For a brief account based on his doctoral dissertation see Robert W. Larson, "Statehood for New Mexico, 1888-1912," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, 37:161-200. Cf. Rufus Kay Wyllys, *Arizona: The History of a Frontier State*. Hobson & Kerr, Phoenix, Arizona. 1950.

7. The name Show Low came from a card game. Corydon E. Corley, who served as a scout with General Crook, married an Apache, and settled here in 1875 with a partner named Marion Clark. They decided to break up the partnership and played a card game called Seven-Up wherein Corley finally exclaimed "Show low it is," and won possession of the ranch. A post office with the name of Corydon was established in August 19, 1880, and Mr. Corley was appointed post master. Will C. Barnes, *Arizona Place Names*. Revised and enlarged by Byrd Granger. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1960. Sheldon H. Dike, *The Territorial Post Offices of Arizona*, Albuquerque, 1958.

radically wrong when one man in charge of the government forest reserves holds in his hand the power to either let us continue on our peaceable and prosperous way or, by his edict, put us off our accustomed grazing grounds and thereby ruin us. It is bad for the man thus placed in such arbitrary power, as it holds up to him inducements for bribery, favoritism and corruption. It is correspondingly bad for the sheep man, as he is continually 'walking on thin ice,' which he has no assurance will hold up longer than the present. From a wool grower's and a mutton raiser's point of view it is a

DECIDEDLY WRONG AND DANGEROUS condition of affairs."

Said one man the other day: "I have improvements on my ranch, which is located on the reserve, which amount to over \$3,000 and should I be denied permit to graze my sheep on the reserve these same improvements would be practically worthless and I would see the fruit of 29 years' hard labor swept away. Arizona, except in a very few favored sections, is a grazing and mining territory."

If the government dam is built in the Tonto basin,<sup>8</sup> it will put many acres under profitable cultivation but there will still be thousands of acres here fit only for the grazing of sheep and cattle. Sheep do better and

BRING SURER DIVIDENDS on the investment than do cattle in Arizona.

Where you find one cattle man who has made money in Arizona you find a dozen or more who broke up in the cattle business.

On the contrary, where you find one sheep man who broke up, you find a dozen or more who are prosperous.

There is but one conclusion to draw; it is this: Arizona is a sheep man's country, and such let it remain. The weeds and grasses, which start as early as February 1, down on the desert around Phoenix, attract the sheep man, who drive their sheep down from the northern and central Arizona ranges to the desert. When it rains, his sheep are shorn by

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8. The Tonto Basin lies north of Roosevelt Dam on the Salt River at the junction with Tonto Creek.

the last of March, and by the 25th of April, or May 1st, are all fat, sold and made into mutton.

On the contrary, when it does not rain, he often returns to the northern ranges after lambing with less sheep and lambs than he had sheep to go down with.

AN EXCEPTIONAL YEAR. This year, according to Hutchinson, commonly called "Hutch" by the sheep men, was an exceptional one, the very best in his remembrance. The per cent of lambs saved this year was in most cases around 100, some reporting as high as 112 per cent of a lamb crop marked out. Of course this year is a record breaker and not an average.

Wool brings a good price, mutton a good price, and feed is excellent, a condition, says Hugh Campbell, which does not occur more than twice in a lifetime.

There are two things which Hugh is authority on. One is New Mexico wethers and the other is the game of sluff.<sup>9</sup>

When Hugh is too tired to play sluff there is something radically wrong. It is a curious sight to old cow men to go into Cordes station now and see the place filled with sheep men boarding with Mr. Corder, who some dozen years ago was a confirmed cow man.

Now there is one of the best sheep dips in Arizona located there, as well as shearing pens, all of which turn the old man in quite a nice little revenue.

The plains and hills from Phoenix up to Mayer<sup>10</sup> are at this time of year (April)

ONE MASS OF FLOWERS AND GREEN WEEDS. A sheep need not go ten rods to get all it wants to eat. The air is filled with the perfume of flowers. The stillness is unbroken save by the call of some old ewe to her straying lamb. The herders lie

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9. ¿Quien sabe?

10. After construction of the railroad the name of this site was changed from Antelope Station to Cordes Station because the former name had already been applied to another railroad station. John H. Cordes was appointed post master when the office was established on June 9, 1886. It was discontinued on November 15, 1944. *Arizona Place Names*. Dike, *op. cit.*, states that the Cordes Post Office was discontinued on January 31, 1912.

under some brush and sleep through the middle of the day. All is peace, contentment and prosperity in a year like this.

"But," says Bill McIntire,<sup>11</sup> "it isn't always like this. If you had been with the Frenchman and me when we were snowed in last winter, you would have wished you had never seen a sheep. The Frenchman would have sold out his whole herd of California ewes for a dollar a head and been glad to get that.

"Yes, and when your sheep have eaten all the grass off the reserve and you are waiting for a permit to go on, and your sheep are starving by the hundreds, you see your hard earned money melting like snow—money which you have lived away out in the sheep camp, away from civilization and home, to get—then it is that you wish you were in some other business."

"Yes," says Lockett, "you fellows see us when we are in town, fat and sassy, but then we are at our best. Whiskey tastes good to us then, but catch us out on the desert, with no water, no grass and everything seemingly going wrong, and you will see different men entirely."

"Yes," says Hutch, "this year we will take a trip back East, spend a good spell down on the coast, but maybe next year we will be, as the saying is, here, all in, and then some."

"Well," says Colin Campbell, "I have driven down to the desert many times and made good lambings, too, better than others did under like conditions, but I don't go down any more—it is

TOO DANGEROUS AN EXPERIMENT at times. Perkins went down with the wethers this year and it seems as though he never would get away from Phoenix. Well, Phoenix is a nice town to stay in, but I would like to see him up here at Winslow about this time to help shearing and selling the wool."

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11. Joe Mayer located here about 1882. The post office was established January 11, 1884, with Sarah B. Mayer serving as post mistress. *Arizona Place Names*. John and Lillian Theobald, *Arizona Territory Post Offices and Post Masters*. Phoenix: The Arizona Historical Foundation, 1961. William McIntire was a Coconino County sheepman sometime after 1891. Haskett, *op. cit.*, 7:3.

And so it goes as I sit around among the old timers, men who have practically spent their lives in the business here.

Are they contented? ask you.

I do not know but from the way they hang to the business and from the enthusiasm they show in their work I would answer, yes.

Many people think of Arizona as a desert, but if those people should stop off at Flagstaff, they might think that they were in the pine woods of Maine, or upper peninsula of Michigan.

There is one of the largest lumber and box factories here in the United States. It employs hundreds of hands and ships its product all over the world.

THE PEOPLE OF ARIZONA are, as a whole, a prosperous, well educated and hustling class of people. They are a people who would do well in almost any state and under almost any conditions.

To the old timer there is no such thing as failure. He is always hopeful, and if he has not made a stake he is going to do so in the near future.

The American element predominates here but it is the same here as it is in every place in the Southwest. They employ Spanish herders almost entirely and pay them \$30 and board. The cost of running a ewe herd a year is estimated at 70 to 75 cents a head. The sheep shorn around Phoenix shear from five to nine pounds per head. Those around Winslow shear from eight to 10 pounds per head. Around Ash Fork and Seligman they shear seven to eight pounds per head.

The weight of fleece and shrinkage varies from 60 to 75 per cent, according to the class of sheep and where they are run. Those run in the mountains all winter, show a whiter, cleaner fleece than those run on the plains and their wool shrinks at least 5 to 10 per cent less.

WOOL IN ARIZONA brought this year from 12 to 15½ cents a pound, according to quality and condition. Two-year-old wethers were nearly all contracted before April 20 at prices

ranging from \$3 to \$3.50 per head, grass fed. Some have gone from Cordes, Arizona, which were pronounced by the buyers as equal, or better, than native corn fed stuff. The mutton fattened on the weeds of the desert is certainly delicious, as the writer can testify from personal experience out in the shearing camps.

THE NUMBER OF SHEEP kept in Arizona is comparatively small but those running them are as prosperous or more so than their neighbors in New Mexico.

Arizona has two outlets for her mutton, one to the California coast, the other east. This makes quite a little difference in prices and the attitude of buyers.

COLIN CAMPBELL. During my stay in Winslow I became better acquainted with Colin Campbell, Arizona's veteran sheep man. It is generally conceded by those who claim to be a judge of wool that the Campbell clip is the best clip of fine wool in Arizona. The sheep have been bred in the same line for 27 years without any intermixture of blood other than Merino or Delaine. Mr. Campbell also raises from 1,000 to 1,200 bucks each year which he sells in southern Colorado, New Mexico, and Arizona.

Those who have used rams from this flock pronounce them very fine and capable of enduring any kind of weather or feed that any other sheep can. This clip of wool is a strictly fine territory and a very even and desirable clip. When it comes to the breeding of sheep and the raising of wool, Mr. Colin Campbell does not have to take a back seat for anyone.

OTHER SHEEP MEN. The other sheep men who make their homes in Winslow are Mr. Woods, Mr. Perkins, Mr. Sawyer, Mr. Hart and Mr. Bly.<sup>12</sup> All of these gentlemen are good

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12. Hart was a pioneer sheepman in Coconino County after 1881. Haskett, *op. cit.*, p. 23. He is mentioned in the weekly *Arizona Miner*, December 21, 1877, as quoted in E. N. Wentworth, *American Sheep Trails*, p. 247. Ames: The Iowa State College Press, 1948. He served in the Territorial House of Representatives, 16th Legislature, Apache County, 1891. George H. Kelly, *Legislative History*, 1864-1912. 1926.

E. S. Perkins is listed as a Territorial Council member from Apache County, 1901. *Ibid.*, p. 209.

Mrs. E. S. Perkins is mentioned as a sheep owner in Apache County after 1891. Haskett, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

sheep men and from all appearances are making a success at the business. Mr. Woods is also quite heavily interested in business blocks in Winslow. Mr. Sawyer was engaged in the general merchandise business, but quit to devote his entire time to the sheep business. Mr. Bly was running last year over 6,000 head, but on account of the uncertainty of the forest reserve range, he sold out all but one herd. Mr. Hart runs one herd of sheep and has much of the Campbell blood in his sheep.

Taking the sheep men of Arizona as a whole, they are a whole-souled lot of fellows and exceptionally good business men and managers.

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Perkins and Campbell are mentioned as sheepmen in *Ibid.*, p. 48.

Sawyer-Otondo Sheep Company of Winslow, Arizona, is mentioned in *ibid.*, p. 47.

Jay X. Wood was a pioneer sheepman of Coconino County after 1881. *Ibid.*, p. 29. I have no information on Ely.



## Notes and Documents

For more than thirty years the NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW has been published jointly by the Historical Society of New Mexico and The University of New Mexico, with assistance from the Museum of New Mexico in keeping the business records and providing mailing service. By a three-way agreement between these institutions, The University of New Mexico will assume full responsibility for the REVIEW, beginning July 1, 1963. A Board of Editors selected from the Faculty of the Department of History will serve as kibitzers, but the editor will continue to ignore kibosh, as usual, although only until June 30, 1964.

• • •

The Oklahoma Civil War Centennial Commission announces the publication of a full color map of the Civil War in Indian Territory, early-day Oklahoma. Twenty-nine combat sites are located, along with forty-nine related installations, mostly identified for the first time. Combat drawings, photographs, and a sketch of the war in Indian Territory also are included.

The map is the work of Muriel H. Wright, editor of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, and LeRoy H. Fischer, professor of history in Oklahoma State University. Copies are available without cost from the Planning Division, Oklahoma Department of Highways, Jim Thorpe Building, Oklahoma City 5, Oklahoma. Flat copies for display purposes will be sent when specified.

## ERRATA

A map prepared by Professor J. M. Tucker, Dept of Botany, University of California at Davis, was inserted in the April issue of the NMHR by error. Gremlins apparently have not yet abandoned the world. F.D.R.

## Book Reviews

*Rebel of The Rockies: A History of the Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad.* By Robert G. Athearn. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962. Pp. xv, 395. Maps, illustrations, bibliography, index. \$10.00.

This is the well-told history of what started from Denver as a narrow gauge line heading toward El Paso and developed instead into a standard gauge route to Salt Lake City. Almost as soon as the Rio Grande was beaten at the Raton Pass entrance to New Mexico by the Santa Fe Railroad, it began clashing with its larger rival over the Royal Gorge and eventually won this vital route to the booming silver town of Leadville. Aside from a branch casually thrust down to Santa Fe and a later spur to Farmington, the narrow gauge turned aside from New Mexico to serve many mining camps of southwestern Colorado and to "liberate" Utah from the Union Pacific-Central Pacific monopoly there. Its own domain was invaded by the Denver, South Park, and Pacific and by the Colorado Midland, whose competition helped force the Rio Grande to widen its main line to standard gauge. The D&RG fell into the hands of financier George Gould, who in 1905 began constructing the Western Pacific and helped finance it by placing a crushing share of the expense on the older road, wringing out the money by scandalous neglect of essential maintenance. The inevitable bankruptcy and reorganization, 1918-1924, placed the D&RG under the joint ownership of the Western Pacific and Missouri Pacific. The latter, connecting with the D&RG at Pueblo, had little interest in the proposed construction of a direct line from Denver to Salt Lake City; after much controversy the state helped finance the Moffat tunnel and finally in 1934 the opening of the Dotsero cut-off to the main line of the Rio Grande completed the short route. In 1935 bankruptcy again struck the mountain railroad, its receivers spent large sums on rehabilitation, and when reorganized in 1947 the road emerged in excellent condition to

handle a large volume of business. By this time local hauling was not nearly as important a source of revenue as through transcontinental traffic.

*Rebel of the Rockies* is certainly a good book, neatly organized, clearly written, enlivened with apt quotations and colorful incidents, well balanced, judicious and clearly pointing out major trends without going into exhaustive details. It shows the unfortunate aspects of the railroad's history frankly enough that some men ought to be turning over in their graves. Helpful maps, interesting illustrations and a thorough index are included.

University of Idaho

WILLIAM S. GREEVER

*My Life on the Range.* By John Clay. With an introduction by Donald R. Ornduff. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962. Pp. xxiii, 372. \$5.95.

What do you say about John Clay's *My Life on the Range*? Hailed almost immediately as a classic of Western Americana when it appeared nearly forty years ago, it has enhanced its luster as the decades have rolled on. The chief complaint against the book has been that it is hard to find, and expensive to purchase. Now in this new edition that complaint has been laid aside.

Re-reading Clay's classic merely reinforces the feeling that here is one of the enduring books of the American cattle industry. No sentimentalist, Clay can conjure up visions of a land and a time with "a freedom, a romance, a sort of mystic halo" without ever once descending to the maudlin. Perhaps it is because he is always perceptive, invariably astringent in a civilized sort of way, as when, speaking of astute Henry Miller, he writes that to "know him was an inspiration, to trade with him was an education."

This book is an education—in content, in style, and in point of view. Not only does it portray a half-century of the Western cattle industry through the eyes of a prime participant, but it analyzes such facets as a Cheyenne cattlemen's

club, stocking a ranch, controlling range diseases, and handling livestock loans, to name only a few. It is a manual and a guide, except that it sustains interest, no matter how technical the subject under discussion.

Let's face it. *My Life on the Range* deserves the accolades heaped on it by undereducated (in book-learnin') Cowhands, by Western buffs and scholars, and by that least starry-eyed bunch of academic strays, the bibliographers. I for one salute Donald R. Ornduff of *The American Hereford Journal* and the University of Oklahoma Press for making it available to me at the price of a good sirloin (medium rare) at the Stockyards Inn.

University of Texas

JOE B. FRANTZ

*Cochiti: A New Mexico Pueblo, Past and Present.* By Charles H. Lange. Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1960, Pp. xxiv, 618. Bibliog., illust., index. \$10.00.

Freshly published technical volumes sometimes receive hurried reviews which toss them to the public with a dutifully gay splash or drop them with a few laboriously sophisticated criticisms re scope or readability. It is thus the more pleasant to reflect at leisure on a volume for which the publication date reads three years ago.

Lange's *Cochiti* still is next to the last major publication to have appeared in Pueblo ethnology, a field which remains uncrowded because the original data is far from easy to come by. And Lange's book, after its two years plus debut is well on its way to becoming a classic which offers material of interest to readers in several fields.

While a student in the anthropology department of the University of New Mexico, Lange began the study on Cochiti economics which resulted in his dissertation. Through a seven year period of intermittent study (1946-1953), this was enlarged by field work to round out knowledge of present conditions in the pueblo and by collection of unusually full data from widely assorted earlier sources. As he points out, com-

parative statements referring to other pueblos have been kept at a minimum; the work is essentially a detailed ethnography, although the pueblo is placed in perspective among its Rio Grande associates.

Lange lived in Cochiti pueblo for 12 weeks during the summer of 1947, five in the summer of 1948, and six in 1951. Such an arrangement, which would not have been possible in the conservative eastern pueblos until recently, permitted him to really know the people and to participate in many of their activities. He found a number of the men glad to cooperate in recording material, even on the usually secret subject of katchinas, for the express purpose of saving this knowledge for the rapidly acculturating younger generation. This opinion in itself was witness to the considerable acculturation of the informants, although their desire for anonymity proved that the old conservative feeling for secrecy which has made work on the eastern pueblos so difficult in the past still was known in Cochiti.

The most important matter to Lange and his informants was that the record should be accurate, as the popular and often erroneous accounts sometimes seen by Pueblo people are a source of irritation.

Now, with the book having been out before the public for several years, what is the feeling of the people of Cochiti toward it? This is a point of major concern to anthropologists, as some who put out reports on the basis of secret collection of data in past years were threatened with dire reprisal from a pueblo should they dare enter it again.

Cochiti, today, is proud of the book. Most of the villagers were involved in its composition and most of them consider it to be a good document. Gaining a consensus of opinion on most matters has resulted in elimination of all but a very few unimportant errors. Many of the elders who participated now are gone, and although there originally was some disagreement in certain families as to whether information should or should not be given, the young adults of today who are most closely allied to the esoteric material of the various reli-

gious groups are very glad that this knowledge has been saved. Moreover, participation in the project of setting down a description of the old way of life has led them to a fresher realization of the fact that their culture held many virtues which could be appreciated by the outside world. Conserving this in print was an initial step now followed by permitting photography even of ceremonial dances, open house to visitors, tape recording of old songs, and a general feeling of good-willed freedom to those who seek information.

The primary descriptions in this volume are economic: resources, property concepts, ownership, agricultural economy, food preparation and diet; hunting, including implements used, the Hunt society, communal hunting drives or "surrounds," pit traps, the use of red ochre for improving one's vision during hunts, and the ceremonial proceedings necessary when an eagle, bear or mountain lion is killed and brought into the village. The gathering of salt a generation ago from the salt lakes of the Estancia Valley, the use of turquoise, the collection of gypsum and its conversion into white-wash for house walls, the collection and use of various wild plants, basketry (only the yucca twilled basket), pottery making, weaving (in the past), and trading with other Pueblos and with Navajos,—all are described. One learns how to do beadwork, and that silver-smithing did not reach this pueblo until the 20th century. We see drawings of wooden stirring sticks and oven paddles with which bread is removed from the domed ovens. We are intrigued with the story of Cochiti's first sale of their now famous drums: a man, needing money for some purchase at the time of a secret dance, took a small drum to the trading post where he received fifteen cents for it—plus the order for a hundred more. We move from stone objects and gourd rattles to community licenses and fees, wage earning within and outside the pueblo, and who went into the military services and what the results were in culture change.

The jump from consideration of these everyday items to description of the ceremonial organization is not as great as

one might guess, for religious organization and sanction forms the immediate and real background to all pueblo activities. Discussion of the calendar and ceremonial paraphernalia for the annual round of retreats and dances leads into the consideration of kinship grouping and cooperation within and between the larger social groups. An examination of the life cycle pictures the individual in his successive relationships to these various groups.

In considerable part, these are the subjects for any ethnography, although most Pueblo studies have given surprisingly little on material culture. But it is in Lange's copious detail that much value lies, and in the background material which he gathered from a varied collection of sources. After a thorough covering of historic references, the author gives a detailed picture of Spanish-Americans moving into the pueblo as early as 1880, lands being loaned to them (according to Pueblo concept) in exchange for aid in protection against Apaches and Navajos. The influences of these families and of later contacts with Anglo outsiders and the described programs and plans of the USIS have been major landmarks in Cochiti acculturation.

As background to present day reactions and customs, Lange used not only the generally known monographs such as those of Goldfrank and Father Dumarest but also the less known papers of Frederick Starr, Ruth Benedict, and E. S. Curtis, and unpublished notes of Boas and Elsie Clews Parsons, and the scattered 19th century descriptions from early observers: Bandelier, Bourke, the Eikemeyers, and Charles Lummis. The old photographs from several museum collections which were used to refresh the memory of informants provide the reader with visual reference to house layout and construction, the former "modernization" of the church with addition of a tall cupola which the wind buffeted until it cracked the adobe walls and had to be removed, and individuals formerly prominent in the tribe. Unpublished records dating back to 1870 in the files of the Franciscan Fathers at Peña Blanca provided good contrast to modern economic, edu-

cational, and health data recorded by the United Pueblos Agency.

One can summarize in saying that the book has much to recommend it. It is full. It is beautifully bound (it does not even look like a monograph!) And the book is readable, all 510 pages of the main part, after which anyone who still seeks data can prowl through another 108 pages of appendices covering clan, moiety, and marriage rosters, kinship terminology as compared over a 50 year period, births and deaths, and a short paper by Gertrude Kurath on Cochiti choreographies and songs, and another by J. R. Fox on Cochiti linguistics. There is—finally—a full reference bibliography and index.

Can one ask for more? Then peer under the back cover and find a pocket containing a map of the modern pueblo, complete even to "unoccupied houses with poor roofs," outside toilets, and water hydrants!

The University of New Mexico

FLORENCE HAWLEY ELLIS

*Formative Years in the Far West.* By Gerald T. White. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1962. Pp. xv, 694. Bibliog., illust., index. \$7.50.

This is a history of the earliest years of the petroleum industry in California. It is also a detailed and thorough history of how, why, and when Standard Oil entered the California and Far Western markets and developed its interests to the point where it became the largest single petroleum company in California. This is an account of how one company grew and expanded, and in part the history of the growth and development of the oil industry in the Far West.

What gives this study authority is the careful blend of detailed, and whenever possible thoroughly minute, investigation into motives, origins of policies, and the interplay of economic and personality pressures on policy formation. So detailed are the accounts of each move made by management and the situation presently affecting decision making that the



story moves all too frequently at a snail's pace. This insistence upon minute investigation results in monumental documentation of motives and proofs. If myths concerning rapacious and exploitive policies on the part of monopolistic management existed about Standard Oil in California, they have been thoroughly investigated and either dismissed or accounted for in relation to both the national and local development of the industry.

Mr. White accounts for the entrance of Standard into the Far West and California markets. Marketing know-how, aggressive and keen tactical maneuvering, and intelligent use of capital resources account for much of the early success. Standard's manipulation of railroad rates and its favored position in regard to these elements of cost is correctly placed in context and in relation to the local and national situation in regard to transportation costs and rebates. Standard made full use of its tactical position, experience, and drive to make a success of its venture in California and other market areas in the Pacific and Alaska.

Another point of interest for the student of management and anyone concerned with gaining a factual knowledge of how a big corporation utilizes its resources, is the detailed analysis of the cautious and conservative approach Standard had in acquiring production facilities and then entering the refining competition. Its use of predecessor companies, for example, Pacific Coast Oil, and its reliance upon Standard Oil Company (Iowa) illustrate its approach to expansion. This study also is interesting in the light it throws on the manner in which the executives in New York permitted their subordinates in San Francisco to guide and determine policy. Flexibility in decision making seems to have been the rule with the man on the spot making most of the vital decisions.

In the era of trust busting the California corporation played a comparatively minor role as far as a monopolistic enterprise is concerned. It was not a monopoly in California, although its size and efficiency in producing and marketing determined that it would be powerful in setting prices for its

products. Where the California corporation seems to have been outstanding is in its use of sales techniques, in excellent personnel relations with employees, and in meeting competition by producing better products. The efficient use of tankers and tank cars and pipe lines seems to have given it an advantage. Success in these activities seems to have been merited and accounts for preference for Standard products. Competition with other marketers and producers seems to be the key pattern for growth in an area where many oil companies after 1900 found that a growing population and industry and the motor cars were increasing demand for petroleum products.

As important as any chapters are those dealing with the relations of the Company and other producers with the federal government. The anti-trust cases are discussed as they throw light on California's situation and avoid retelling of the anti-trust movement. California Standard apparently achieved "Independence Through Antitrust." When the story of the development of production on government lands is told light is thrown on the dismal failure of the federal government to work out either a workable administrative arrangement or pass legislation dealing realistically with those who had drilled wells on its land. A contribution is made here to the analysis of management's difficulties in trying to operate oil wells and other facilities when neither Congress nor the administration will or can establish clear and workable guide lines. Mr. White shows from the company's point of view the difficulties of operating wells and equipment when profits and future production are left to the hazard of caprice of governmental decisions emanating from various bureaus and departments that are sometimes in conflict with each other. The discussion of Standard's problems in California in dealing with regulators and conservationists from 1910 to 1919 might stimulate a larger and more general study of the history of the oil industry's problems with government regulation and conservation policies and how management has reacted to them.

This is not a "popular" history in any sense of the word. It is hard reading; but it is rewarding reading. It is a careful documentation and explanation of how an industry and a company grew from precarious beginnings into large, sure, and profitable security. It ends with a change in management and the introduction of new scientific and economic factors that open another era in 1919. Obviously a second and companion volume is required to bring the history of Standard in California up-to-date. Mr. White is to be congratulated upon his great research and painstaking organization of material. His intelligent presentation of material and the scope of his project would seem to guarantee that the story of Standard and the industry in the Far West in relation to the Company will need no retelling.

Purdue University

ROBERT B. ECKLES

*A Campaign From Santa Fe to the Mississippi: Being a History of the Old Sibley Brigade.* By Theo. Noel. Newly edited and with an introduction by Martin Hardwick Hall and Edwin Adams Davis. Houston: The Stagecoach Press, 1961. Pp. xxvii, 183. Maps, appendices. \$7.50.

On "that cold, frosty morning" of November 7, 1861, Sibley's Texas Brigade, some 3,000 strong, marched out of San Antonio singing "The Texas Ranger" as the Confederate colors and a variety of regimental and company flags whipped about in the wind overhead. Their objective was a most incredible one: this motley crowd, some on horses and others on foot, armed with bowie knives, shotguns, and a few rusty rifles, planned to bring the far West into the Confederacy. They were all enthusiastic over the plan of operations; and their commander, sedate and bewhiskered Henry Hopkins Sibley, had even more optimistic dreams in envisioning a "Greater Confederacy" extending to the Pacific Ocean.

Noel, a member of the Fourth Texas Cavalry, tells the story of that "romantic gamble" in a spirited and knowledgeable style. And this is a credit to him, since he lacked an edu-

cation, having quit school at fourteen to help his brother run a newsstand in Seguin, Texas, and continuing to do so until he left to join the cavalry. His account, if at times grandiloquent and grossly biased, is nevertheless a charming one. The earlier pages are filled with anecdotes and ludicrous incidents. An example of the humor is the story about a company of Texans in dress review who failed to hear an order to "file left" and kept on marching until they had gone over a nearby hill and disappeared. Watching them pass out of sight, General Sibley grunted, "Gone to Hell."

After that, however, Noel can find little about the expedition that was humorous. He recounts the hardships that soon beset Sibley's ragged command—the bitter cold that plagued them in the Texas Big Bend country and on the New Mexico desert; the severe shortages of food and ammunition; the exhausting marches through moving clouds of sand and over a land devoid of roads or waterholes; and the diarrhea and fever that made many of the men collapse on the way, left there to be eaten by carnivorous animals or to freeze as the column pushed on toward Santa Fe. Noel describes in vivid and exaggerated detail their engagements with Federal forces at Valverde in February and at Glorieta Pass near Santa Fe in March. At this point, the Confederates, whose supplies were completely exhausted, began a slow, desperate retreat down the Rio Grande, reaching Texas in the late spring of 1862, their ranks thinned by some 1,700 casualties on the campaign.

The expedition failed for several reasons, and foremost among them was Sibley's glaring incompetence as a field commander. Pompous and pigheaded, with a weakness for the bottle, he often left command decisions to Colonel Tom Green of the Fifth Texas while he drank in his tent or toured the surrounding countryside in his carriage. Among other inexcusable things he did, he was not in the field when his troops met the enemy at Glorieta. Noel, however, refuses to criticize his commander. He calls Sibley an "able and skillful" briga-

dier and laments the "public clamor raised against him" when the Brigade returned to Texas.

Though Noel can find no wrong with his superiors, he is fairly accurate in narrating the New Mexico adventure and in following the Brigade's later activities, from the battle of Galveston on New Year's day, 1863, to a long tour of duty in the mosquito-infested bayous of southern Louisiana. There the outfit served under Richard Taylor in the Red River Campaign and after that saw limited action in Arkansas. Then, on orders from the Trans-Mississippi High Command, it set out for him. It is here that Noel's "short, imperfect and hurriedly composed history leaves the brigade *en route* for Texas."

The Stagecoach Press' edition of Noel's book, originally published in 1865, is handsome in design and in print. It has helpful editorial notes and an editor's introduction that outlines the brigade's activities and gives a concise and objective evaluation of the New Mexico expedition. Detailed appendices, including regimental officers, names and dates of engagements, and a list of killed and wounded, round out a valuable source work that is a must for Civil War collections.

Austin, Texas

STEPHEN B. OATES

*Exploring the Great Basin.* By Gloria Griffen Cline. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963. Pp. xviii, 216. Bibliog., illust., index. \$4.95.

From the time of Christopher Columbus' voyages of discovery, European nations sought a water route that would provide direct passage across North America to the Orient. The Spanish searched in vain along the Pacific coast for the western outlet of a mythical Strait of Anían. The Hudson Bay Company trappers explored the river systems of the Greater Northwest looking for the Northwest Passage, and when the last major river system to be delineated, that of the Fraser River, provided no continuous water passage, they

virtually gave up the quest. A potent force behind the exploration of the Americans, Lewis and Clark, was the search for a continuous water route connecting the Missouri and Columbia River systems. By this time the myth was about destroyed but there remained one last hope that a water route might be found in the vast, uncharted area between California's Sierra Nevada and the Wasatch Mountains of central Utah. This land had been one of mystery and legend from the year 1776 when the Spanish Franciscan Garcés, and two friars, Domínguez and Escalante, penetrated the area, the former from California, and the latter from Santa Fe. Largely as a result of the supposition of map-makers recording Spanish exploits, a river known as the San Buenaventura was thought to flow westward from the Rockies through lakes and a break in the Sierra Nevada on into the Pacific Ocean.

As the British fur traders and mountain men came into the region from the Northwest, and the Americans from the Missouri drainage basin, they not only obtained furs but also gradually made known the geography of the area and in so doing destroyed all mystery and myth including the existence of the San Buenaventura River. It was John C. Frémont who, in 1844, settled the matter when he realized that this great interior basin had no outlet to the sea. This was perhaps his greatest contribution as a scientific explorer, but by no means the best known or most highly dramatized event in his life.

The author of this volume has traced the route of every Spanish, British, and American trader, adventurer, and explorer who traversed any portion of the Great Basin between 1776-1844, noted what they recorded about it, and summarized the impact of their activity upon cartography. She has assembled the well-known, but scattered information in monographic studies and with care and thoughtfulness integrated the evidence into a unified and logical chronicle. The specialist will find little in this volume to alter his existing knowledge or to re-evaluate its significance. The Spanish and American phases of the exploration are an oft-told story, but somewhat less has been known about the British. To maintain balance

in her account, the author has searched diligently in the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company and has made exceptionally good use of Peter Skene Ogden's Snake River Journal of 1828-1829, including the maps. The use of diaries, letters and reports has made the discussion of British activities the most significant contribution to scholarship in the volume.

Mrs. Cline's book suffers from structural difficulties primarily because of a dualism in which she first describes an exploration or journey and then recapitulates the events as recorded by cartographers. Although she is admittedly dealing with a highly complicated subject, she is not justified in such repetition as quoting exactly the same source materials at widely separated parts of the book, i.e., a five-line quotation from Frémont's *Journal*, p. 6 and p. 209, and a six-line statement from a Jedediah Smith letter published by Andrew Rolle, p. 156 and p. 196. The author occasionally makes assertion without documentation that would be helpful to many interested readers as, for example, the ways and means that George Vancouver's exploration made a forceful impression on both Alexander Mackenzie and Thomas Jefferson, p. 63. In the bibliography all sources that are not secondary works, including doctoral dissertations and governmental documents, are surprisingly lumped together under a heading, "Manuscripts."

In spite of all the objections a professional historian might raise concerning this book, the author has accomplished what she set out to do with such enthusiasm, to dramatically record the deeds of those who made known the geography of the Great Basin. Moreover, she has traced the movements of men in a more meaningful way by establishing their routes in relationship to present-day population centers. Students and readers of history, not often attracted by accounts of geographical exploration, will be captivated by this narrative.

University of California, Davis

W. TURRENTINE JACKSON

*Nevada's Turbulent Yesterday . . . A Study in Ghost Towns.* By Don Ashbaugh. Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1963. Pp. 346. Illust., index. \$7.50.

Don Ashbaugh dedicates this book to his wife, Alice. A footnote on the dedication page informs that Alice passed away one week after Don's burial.

The publishers of *Nevada's Turbulent Yesterday* merit commendation beyond the usual recognition that attaches to an attractively-produced item. In this instance there is more involved than just another commercial publication. Friendship and admiration for Don Ashbaugh are crafted into the book's manufacture. Were he here to see it, Don would be justly proud of his beautiful new book.

Much of the included material appeared as a weekly Sunday feature series in the *Las Vegas Review-Journal*. This series won many awards, the most outstanding being the 1959 Award of Merit by the American Association for State and Local History.

*Nevada's Turbulent Yesterday* at no time distresses its readers with a cumbersome sentence structure, styled in the laborious, academic pattern that has become almost a ritual among so many of our "learned" historical researchers. Here is a book that is equally as distinctive for its fascinating interest-appeal as it is distinguished for its demonstrated historical contribution. The basic values written into *Nevada's Turbulent Yesterday* are not restricted to the State of Nevada but are applicable to the entire Southwest, as well.

Don Ashbaugh gives definition to the scope of his coverage in his prefatory remarks:

"This is a story about Nevada's Ghosts, tales of long-gone towns and the rugged individuals who built them. . . . Of men with hope in their eyes, who braved the unknown, laughed at hardships and death, lived and loved violently, drank prodigiously, and never gave up their search for the beckoning bonanza at the rainbow's end. . . . Of women who followed them, fought with and for them, loved them and in a great many



cases buried them. It is a story of Nevada towns which boomed, bloomed and withered during the last 100 years."

Sixty or more historically-important ghost towns are brought to life in the narrative; innumerable tales are related about them and the people who lived in them. About all that is wanting in *Nevada's Turbulent Yesterday* is an adequate map system to assist the reader in visualizing the relative locations of the towns—past and present—that are identified in the text.

In reviewing a book on Nevada's early mining towns, one finds it difficult to escape comparison with Nell Murbarger's classic work—*Ghosts Of the Glory Trail* (1956). In many instances, Ashbaugh duplicates material appearing in this earlier book; in fact, he cites—and frequently quotes—passages from it. Happily, his type of writing, his avenues of approach, and his method of treatment are all essentially dissimilar to those of Miss Murbarger. One feels no urge to construct a preference for one book over the other. Happily, also, each book contains a wealth of informative material not included in the other. The reader need have no concern over the possibility of excessive duplication.

The Murbarger book reflects one significant advantage. While both writers must, of necessity, draw copiously from early newspaper and regional accounts, Nell Murbarger personally *visits* and *explores* the towns she describes. Her descriptions, as a result, are flavored with an intimacy that derives solely from personal knowledge and experience. She strengthens her references to printed records by on-the-scene interviews with old-timers—often with the original pioneers themselves—or their immediate descendants. Thus it may be said that, while Ashbaugh *informs* us of these historic areas, Nell Murbarger *takes* us there.

It would appear that the author is primarily concerned with the early history of a region, and is not particularly interested in its present-day status. The title of his book gives

advance indication of this. And because most—if not all—these ghosts of yesteryear found their origin linked inseparably to some gold discovery, the book becomes—in consequence—an engrossing history of Nevada's early mining activities.

Incidentally, the distinction that prevails in the subject matter of the Murbarger and Ashbaugh books asserts itself in the considerable number of photographs appearing in each (55 in the Murbarger; 67 in the Ashbaugh). Photographs in the former relate mainly to the present day; those in the latter (including pictures from the Nevada State Historical Society and the Las Vegas Review-Journal) are generally of an early vintage.

*Nevada's Turbulent Yesterday* represents something more than one man's articulate response to a cherished dream. It is the great, vibrant finale of a resourceful and dedicated life. Don literally *forced* that life to encompass completion of his self-imposed task.

“Death closes all; but something ere the end,  
Some work of noble note, may yet be done.”

Don Ashbaugh's book qualifies as a “work of noble note.”

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E. I. EDWARDS

Room 207—Southern California Business Service

Arcadia, California

*The Kiowas*. By Mildred P. Mayhall. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962. Pp. xviii, 315, 14 plates, index. \$5.95.

Dr. Mayhall has written a long and, unfortunately, rather dull and repetitious book about the history of one of the more interesting Plains Indian tribes.

Following a poetic evocation of the topography and climate of the Great Plains, she describes how the Kiowas together with their companion group, the Kiowa-Apache,

moved early in the eighteenth century from their homeland (probably in the Yellowstone region of the Rocky Mountains), taking up residence, making alliances, and adopting the horse-riding, buffalo-hunting, nomadic way of life characteristic of the Plains.

Over ninety pages are devoted to quotations from early "Descriptions of the Kiowas" and other Plains tribes. Several picturesque incidents are (uncritically) related, but most of the chapter focuses on various military expeditions into "Indian Country" and the ethnocentric judgments of their commanders on the behavior and character of the tribes contacted.

"The Evolution of a Civilization" is Dr. Mayhall's title for a chapter describing the nineteenth century material culture and social organization of the Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache. The description is sketchy and adds little to our understanding of this variant of the Plains culture pattern. It contains several inconsistencies. For instance, on p. 116 we are told that "The Kiowas had six subtribes or bands," and these are enumerated. But eight pages later we read that "there were ten to twenty bands." This chapter is filled with unfortunate phrases, e.g., "From then on, down to the present, the 'white man's road' was rocky and uphill" (p. 100). "There was no fixed rule of inheritance, but band names, shield, and tipi usually were patrilineal" (p. 123). "Undue giving was a prerogative of the powerful" (p. 144). Here and elsewhere, typographical errors are annoying in this otherwise beautifully printed book, e.g., "counterpoint" for counterpart (p. 137), and "discard" for disregard (p. 287).

The chapter on "The Kiowa Calendars" is little more than a summary of Mooney's classic work on the subject, while the two following chapters recapitulate all of this material (covering the years from 1832-92), adding details from a wide variety of sources on the treaties, raids, massacres, and epidemics which studded this period.

Two brief chapters describe the eventual settlement of the Kiowas on their present reservation and the social atti-

tudes and forces shaping their lives today. An appendix summarizes the archaeology of the Plains and current theories on the linguistic affinities of the Kiowa language. (The 1959 publications by W. R. Miller and by G. L. and E. C. Trager which support the linkage between Kiowa and Tanoan are absent from the bibliography.)

In sum, *The Kiowas* is not a book to recommend to either the casual reader or the specialist. Aside from the specific criticisms noted above, the major deficiency seems, to this reviewer, to lie in Dr. Mayhall's general point of view. The development of Plains culture, whatever it was, certainly was *not* the "Evolution of a Civilization," and the struggle between the aggressive, expanding Americans and the (less than 2,000) aggressive, defending Kiowas was *not* a "Contest of Civilizations," nor even of two cultures. The contest, once the Civil War had ended, was between the military representatives of a loose amalgamation of bands and tribes and the military force of a massive, relatively unified, national state with vast resources and manpower at its disposal.

The term "civilization" refers to a relatively rare and recent development in man's history. Applying this term loosely does no honor to the Kiowas and can lead to the kind of thinking in which Africans or Papuans are said to be "not ready for self-government" though they have been governing themselves—on a tribal level, to be sure—for centuries. That kind of thinking is akin to the view which characterizes as "undue giving" the ready generosity which made intratribal theft virtually unknown on the Plains. The narrowness of a view which insists that tribal peoples must adapt themselves to what we invidiously call the "modern world" when and where we decided they should leads easily to confusion of the *convenience* of an interest group (settlers, bankers, or bureaucrats) with historical *necessity*.

University of New Mexico

PHILIP K. BOCK



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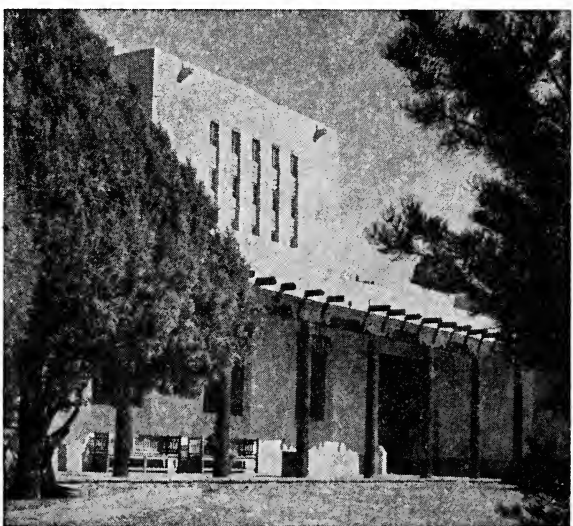
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# *New Mexico Historical Review*



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## CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Pope's Wells	
Lee Myers . . . . .	273
Confederate Hero at Val Verde	
Odie B. Faulk . . . . .	300
Mrs. Blake's Sunday School	
Mary Blake Salmans . . . . .	312
The Sheep Industry in Arizona, 1905-1906	
Frank D. Reeve <i>editor</i> . . . . .	323
Book Reviews . . . . .	343
Historical Society of New Mexico . . . . .	356

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## POPE'S WELLS

*By* LEE MYERS\*

THE decade immediately preceding the American Civil War was momentous. The youthful United States had attained early manhood and was bursting with the urge to do things big—to expand, to push its borders into the unknown. The California gold fields, only a few years old, had increased that state's population by thousands. While the myth of the "Great American Desert" was still believed by many easterners it had been partially dispelled by the hordes of Forty-Niners who plodded their weary way across the plains and mountains towards the land of gold, and who must surely have formed the germ of the idea that there were farms and ranches for the taking in this vast land. Then too, Oregon and Washington Territories had already been pioneered, and these thousands up and down the Pacific Coast were clamoring for closer ties with the East and the Mississippi Valley. There was only one answer—a railroad to the Pacific Coast!

Seriously proposed as early as 1844 by one Asa Whitney,<sup>1</sup> the idea of a band of rails extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific had caught the public fancy and had burst into a crescendo of demands from all walks of life that such a rail-

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\* 505 South Mesquite, Carlsbad, N.M.

1. William H. Goetzman, *Army Exploration in the American West, 1803-1863* (New Haven: Yale University Press), p. 186.

road be built. Such a project, however, seemed so colossal that construction of it was feared beyond the financial means of private enterprise, therefore the Government must do the job. Jefferson Davis, Secretary of War 1853 to 1857, was one of the staunch proponents of not only a Pacific Railroad but was tireless in a fight to locate it along what was termed the 32nd Parallel Route,<sup>2</sup> passing across Texas by way of the Llano Estacado, or Staked Plains, the Pecos River country, the Guadalupe Mountains of extreme west Texas, through the neighborhood of the adobe village of Franklin, now El Paso, thence on west through the newly acquired Gadsden Purchase and into southern Arizona, over the Colorado River at Yuma Crossing to Fort Yuma, opposite the present city of Yuma, Arizona, thence across the Southern California desert to a western terminus at San Diego.

This was one of four proposed routes ordered explored in the Pacific Railroad Bill, passed by Congress in March, 1853; but since it is the only one of importance to this topic, the other three need not be considered other than to say that they were proposed and backed, politically, by interests either opposed to, or disinterested in, the mounting movement for Southern expansion.

For several years prior to the Railroad Survey Act, a corps of scientists, headed by officers of the elite of the Army, the Corps of Topographical Engineers,<sup>3</sup> as well as several officers of the general service, had made many exploratory treks into the West, and the consensus of opinions was that when a trans-continental railroad was built it must be along the general geographical line traversed by the proposed 32nd degree route.<sup>4</sup> This belief was based principally upon the idea that conditions of weather and terrain in this southwestern country were so superior to the regions farther north that any other location would be highly impractical, if not impossible.

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2. *Ibid.*, p. 265.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-13.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 295-96.

The first survey of this route under the Railroad Survey Act, in late 1853 and early 1854, extended from the Pima Villages along the Gila River in Arizona to a point on the Rio Grande near present El Paso, and was begun in January, 1854, by Lieut. John G. Park, Topographical Corps. He reported the terrain traversed by his party to be admirably suited for a railroad, but expressed considerable concern over the lack of water along the way. This, however, Parke said, could be overcome by the drilling of artesian wells and recommended that experimental drilling for this purpose be commenced at once.<sup>5</sup>

Following hard upon the heels of Parke's survey Davis ordered the entire 32nd Parallel Route surveyed.<sup>6</sup> Parke was again chosen, this time to cover the western section from California to Doña Ana, New Mexico, and Brevet Capt. John Pope, another Topographical officer, was ordered to survey the eastern half, from Doña Ana to Preston, near the present city of Denison, Texas, on the Red River.<sup>7</sup>

John Pope appears to have been an odd fish. Intelligent he must have been, for only West Point graduates with the highest grades received this appointment, but vain, egotistical, visionary, and not too successful in a practical way he certainly was. Born March 16, 1822, in Louisville, Kentucky,<sup>8</sup> he was appointed a cadet to West Point in 1838 and graduated in 1842. Assigned to the Corps of Topographical Engineers, he served successively in Florida, the survey of the boundary between the Northeastern States and Canada, the Mexican War, Minnesota, and finally, in 1851, came to the Department of New Mexico as Chief Topographical Officer.

From 1853 to 1858 he was engaged in the activities discussed on these pages, after which he was assigned to light house duty until the beginning of the Civil War. In this fratricidal struggle between the states, Pope made a brilliant start

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5. *Ibid.*, pp. 289-90.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 277.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 291.

8. *Dictionary of American Biography*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935), vol. 15, pp. 76-77.

but wound up a complete fizzle. Appointed Brig. Gen. of Volunteers, he served under Fremont in Missouri, then, in 1862, he participated in Union operations which resulted in the opening of the Mississippi River above Vicksburg, and here he performed handsomely at New Madrid and Island No. 10. Promoted to Maj. Gen. of Volunteers, he served under Halleck against Corinth where he again rendered brilliant service.

As a result of his service in the Western Theatre he was assigned to command the Army of Virginia to operate in conjunction with McClellan, and was shortly thereafter given the regular army commission of Brigadier General, but maintained his majority of volunteers. After McClellan's defeat in the Peninsula Pope found himself the main objective of the Confederate forces of Jackson and Lee. He was now in the rather delicate position of being in command over several officers actually his senior in service, and there is considerable evidence that he immediately developed an inferiority complex as a consequence, which he attempted to conceal by an over confident and boastful manner, which, instead of winning him the confidence and loyalty of the rank and file of his new command, earned him their wholehearted disapproval. This situation, combined with Pope's apparent inability to handle large concentrations of troops, and possibly other contributing causes, brought about his decisive defeat at the second battle of Manasses. He was promptly relieved of his command and consigned to the "Siberia" of that day, the Indian Country.

His services, subsequent to his relief in the East, though administrative, were distinguished, seeing him filling the posts of Commander of the Northwest, the Division, or Department, of the Missouri, then after the close of the War to the Third Military District of the defeated South, then the Department of the Lakes, and once more to the Department of the Missouri, then on west to the Department of California and the Division of the Pacific, from which appointment he retired in March, 1886, with the rank of Major General of

the regular army. His service as a department commander, especially in the Department of Missouri, with its major role played in western migration and subsequent Indian reprisals, was highly important, and he rendered great service to his country as such.

On October 7, 1853, Pope was ordered to proceed from Albuquerque to Doña Ana, then to explore the proposed route between that point and Preston,<sup>9</sup> which is now submerged by the waters of man-made Lake Texhoma. Pope was advised that Gen. John Garland, commanding the Ninth Military Department, would furnish an escort of troops from the 1st Dragoons under Lieut. K. Garrard, and that he would be furnished instruments necessary for the survey by "the depot of the Mexican Boundary Survey at El Paso." He was allowed \$15,000 to cover expenses of the trip, \$400 more than his own estimate. The chief object of the survey, read the orders, was to determine the route's "military capabilities," and "its properties for a railroad" are "an important auxiliary,"<sup>10</sup> which smells suspiciously like modern boondoggling!

The party was assembled at Doña Ana<sup>11</sup> where they were joined by wagons and teams taken from the train which had moved four companies of the 8th Infantry under Col. Alexander from their several posts in central and east Texas to Franklin to establish Fort Bliss. (It may be well to add here that the official reports of this survey uses the names El Paso and Franklin synonymously, as though the first had begun to supercede the latter). There were eight wagons pulled by six mules each and one extra team. Capt. Pope was assisted by Lieut. K. Garrard, 1st Dragoons, second in command. Lieut. L. H. Marshall, 3rd Infantry, commanded the escort in Lieut. Garrard's place. Capt. C. S. Taplin was mineralogist, Dr. Diffendorfer, surgeon and naturalist, John H. Byrne, computer and diarist, and Thomas Mitchell was wagonmaster. The escort consisted of twenty-five rank and file, which with

9. Goetzman, *op. cit.*, p. 277.

10. Report of Secretary of War, 1853; 33 Cong., 1 Sess., Sen. Ex. Doc., Vol 2, No. 1, pt. 2, pp. 64-5.

11. Report of Secretary of War, 1853; 33 Cong., 1 Sess., Ex. Doc. No. 29, pp. 5-122.

the teamsters and herders numbered seventy-five persons. Sixteen beeves and seventy sheep had been driven from Franklin as a fresh meat supply.

The command left Doña Ana at 9 A.M. on Sunday, February 12, 1854, and proceeded in a general southeast direction to Hueco Tanks, a natural watering place a few miles northeast of El Paso that had been used by the Indians long before the coming of white men, and were destined to become an important stopping place on the Butterfield Overland Mail Route. They had already served as such on the nearly equally well known immigrant route from Texas and the South to the California gold fields.

After a stay of several days during which last minute preparations for the long trek ahead were made, the march was resumed in an approximate eastern direction to a crossing of the Guadalupe Mountains at almost the same location as the present crossing of U. S. Highway 180, about six miles west of a series of springs then known as the Pinery. Pope later went to some trouble in an attempt to locate one more suitable, but failed. From the Pinery the trail led on east just below the present New Mexico boundary to a crossing of the Pecos River at the mouth of Delaware Creek, where a stay of several days was made.

From the Hueco Tanks to this point the route had closely followed what was later to become the route of the Butterfield stages as well as the wagons of the west-bound immigrants, a fact dictated by the location of the one vital necessity—water, there being several springs located at propitious points along the way. Pope had also reported a plentiful supply of large pine timber for construction needs in the vicinity of the Pinery, a fact that had been responsible for the naming of the area but of which there is little evidence remaining today.

After sending cautious feelers ahead in the form of a small advance party, which narrowly escaped disaster because of the lack of water, Pope proceeded down the Pecos

to Immigrant Crossing, then turned east by north into the dreaded, dry waste of the Llano Estacado to "The Sand Hills," then in the same general direction, passing the headwaters of the Colorado, Brazos and Trinity Rivers to his destination at Preston, arriving there on May 13. Here the animals and equipment of the expedition were sold, the civilian personnel paid and discharged, the military personnel ordered to other stations, and Capt. Pope proceeded to Washington to make his reports to his superiors.

The reports were extremely optimistic and favorable to the use of the 32nd Parallel route for a railroad to the Pacific: the terrain favored easy grades and cheap construction of a road bed, the most expensive section to be the crossing of the Guadalupe Mountains at the Pinery; there was plenty of timber for construction purposes on the eastern slopes of the Guadalupe and near the Red River in Texas; much of the route lay through a fertile country suitable for farming; the climate was very favorable; and the route would be close enough to the heads of navigable rivers in North Texas to allow for water transportation, the popular idea of the extensive use of lesser streams of the West for shallow draft steamboats being still in its ascendancy. He recommended the location of an army post at the mouth of the Delaware.

He also stated: "The only obstacle on this route, and one which alone has prevented it from becoming the great and only highway across the Plains, is the want of water on the Llano Estacado, over a distance of one hundred and twenty five miles; and this difficulty, as will be exhibited hereafter, is obviated so easily and at so little expense, that it cannot weigh as a feather in the balance against the unrivaled advantages of this route."

Capt. Pope's solution to this problem was simple—artesian wells! Nor can Pope be alone blamed as a visionary in this respect. There was a belief prevalent among the ranks of the Topographical Engineers at that time that a vast region embraced by the Llano Estacado was underlaid with

artesian water. Capt. A. A. Humphreys, Pope's immediate commander in Washington, reported:

From the notes accompanying the meteorological observations, it appears that the amount of precipitation for the year in rain and snow is from four to five times as great upon the mountains as upon the plains. Descending upon the summits, it is shed along the faces of the hard rock until it reaches the upturned edges of the broken and porous strata, through which it percolates. The water is thus intercepted from running over the country below and forms reservoirs beneath the earth, which, if boring at any point lower than the source, must rise and overflow the surface of the ground.<sup>12</sup>

Pope had described the geologic formation of the Staked Plains at some length in support of his theory that bored wells would find a plentiful supply of artesian water and said: "In all respects the artesian well would be preferable [to tanks or shallow dug wells]. The water would, from what I have stated, be delivered at the surface, and would probably rise far above it; and instead of arrangements for drawing it up—which would require too much time and labor when large numbers of animals were to be supplied—the artesian wells would be the source of running streams."<sup>13</sup>

Pope stated his definition of an artesian well versus a "common" well in an interesting manner by saying that the common well receives its supply locally, from local precipitation and is likely to be shallow in depth, undependable in quantity and to remain at the same level as the strata in which found, while the artesian well receives its supply from a much larger, and often, more distant source; the source is of higher elevation than the reservoir or well, is much more abundant and, since the source is usually higher than the well, the water level will rise in the well above the strata in which found *but does not necessarily overflow the surface*.<sup>14</sup>

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12. Report of Sec. of War, 1856; 34 Cong., 3 Sess., Sen. Ex. Doc., Vol. 3, No. 5, pp. 203-15.

13. Report of Sec. of War, 1853, *op. cit.*

14. Captain Pope to Sec. of War, Washington, Nov. 22, 1856. Report of Field Operation. *Ibid.*



It would seem likely that Pope made these statements under pressure of criticism, since he contradicted himself on this subject.

He now recommended that one set of boring tools be used for many wells, the use of teams and wagons for hauling water from the Pecos River, or other natural sources, to supply drilling camps until water was found, and at the completion of the work "—both mules and wagons would command a price equal at least to two-thirds of their original cost." He also recommended that initial drilling be done on or near the Pecos because of availability of supplies from the Rio Grande communities, and four wells at intervals of twenty-five miles between the heads of the Colorado and the Pecos. His estimates of cost are interesting:

Tools, rods, augers, chisels, derrick-irons, etc., for boring 700 feet	\$ 1,250.00
Traveling forge and equipment	500.00
Wooden tubes for 700 feet	250.00
Pay & subsistence of men for eight months	8,016.00
Cost of wagons & mules for transporting provisions & tools	9,500.00
Total	\$19,516.00
For each additional well	5,472.00
Total cost of four wells	35,932.00
From which deduct sale of mules, wagons and boring instruments	7,400.00
Final cost	28,532.00

"The final cost of artesian wells upon the Llano Estacado is very large and has been made with a view to every possible contingency which may arise. I consider it in all respects sufficient and with such an amount I feel certain of success."

With the Topographical Engineers supporting the arguments advanced by the Southern bloc, with the additional advantage derived from Davis' influence as Secretary of War,

and with the final boost supplied by this optimistic report and recommendation by Pope, it is not surprising that on January 5, 1855, the War Department, backed by an appropriation of \$100,000 from Congress, ordered a party into the field to put into execution the experiment of "testing the practicability of procuring water by artesian wells on the arid plains of the interior," and to Brevet Capt. John Pope was assigned the task.<sup>15</sup>

The plans of the War Department were generous, perhaps even visionary, and embraced not only five wells to be located "across the Llano Estacado," but also included "—a series of eight between the Rio Grande and the San Pedro, and a series of four or six across the plain known as the Colorado Desert." The Reports continue: "[by] the expenditure of a few thousand dollars in making the route along the San Pedro<sup>16</sup> and the Gila, to the Pima Villages, practicable for wagons, an excellent immigrant and mail route for coaches will be had, and great suffering will be saved to those crossing the continent in this latitude."

Upon receipt of his orders Pope proceeded to the Pecos by way of steamer to Indianola, Texas, thence overland to San Antonio and on across the arid plains to a point about seven miles below the present southern boundary of New Mexico, where, on the east bank of the river he established a semi-permanent camp,<sup>17</sup> the site of which is still known locally as "Pope's Camp." This site is now partially submerged by the waters of Red Bluff Reservoir of the Pecos River and is overgrown with a dense cover of salt cedars.

As one would expect of a man of Pope's engineering training and ability, this camp was well and solidly built; in fact, when one considers the isolation and nakedness of the location, it was almost luxurious. Quarters and shops, with sev-

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15. Captain A. A. Humphreys to Sec. of War, Nov. 29, 1855; 34 Cong., 1 Sess., H. Ex. Docs., Vol. 1, No. 1, Pt. 2, pp. 94-98.

16. John B. Floyd, Sec. of War, to Captain John Pope, May 5, 1857; 35 Cong., 2 Sess., H. Ex. Doc., Vol. 2, Pt. 2.

17. Conkling, Roscoe P. and Margaret B., *The Butterfield Overland Mail 1857-1869* (Glendale 4, Calif: The Arthur H. Clark Co.,) Vol. 1, pp. 379, 282; Vol. 3, Plate 36.

eral smaller structures, were constructed of stone and adobe; a breastwork of stone surrounded the whole and flat native stone was extensively used to build foundations, walks and floors; a flag pole was provided and a nearby spring furnished water, that of the Pecos being so brackish as to almost deny its use for human consumption.

Located as it was, close to water and the wagon road from San Antonio and Fort Davis, this camp served mainly as a headquarters and quartermaster supply depot for the expedition. The actual site of the drilling operations was some miles to the northeast: "The point selected for the first trial was upon the Llano Estacado, near latitude 32°, about fourteen miles east of the Pecos, at the mouth of Delaware Creek,\* where water for the use of the party could be conveniently obtained from the river. The party arrived at this point in the latter part of May, 1855, and commenced the operation of boring. . . ." <sup>18</sup> Here, completely exposed to all the winds and blowing sand, the vicious heat of summer, and later, the cold of winter, the actual working personnel of the expedition were established in tents and the great experiment was begun.

The reports of the Secretary of War are silent as to a description of the type of drilling machinery used at this time, but an enlisted man, James A. Bennett of the 1st Dragoons, serving in New Mexico, whose unit had marched to the Pecos in August and September, 1855, to investigate a rumor that Indians had attacked Pope's party, inflicting several casualties, has recorded that "—the boring is done with machinery and mule power."<sup>19</sup> The rumor was false, and the artesian well party was in good health and busily engaged with their project. This description would indicate that this first drilling rig, or machine, was of a type quite common in the nine-

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\* [That is, fourteen miles eastward from the Junction of the Delaware and Pecos. F. D. R.]

18. Capt. Humphreys to Sec. of War; 34 Cong., 1 and 2 Sess., Sen. Ex. Docs., Vol 2, No. 1, Pt. 2, pp. 90-98. Capt. Pope to Sec. of War, Nov. 22, 1856.

19. James A. Bennett, *Forays and Forays*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mex., Press, 1943) pp. 75-76.

teenth century, wherein one or more horses, mules or oxen, walking continuously in a circle and hitched to sweeps, turned a heavy cast-iron bull-gear, which in turn rotated a pinion attached to a drive shaft, thus transmitting power to the drilling machine itself.

Bennett also states that Pope's command was composed of 76 men of Company I, 7th Infantry, with 80 civilians. It is probable that the soldiers performed the "housekeeping" chores at the main camp, the guard and escort duties, acted as couriers to Fort Davis, Texas, located some one hundred and twenty miles south, and perhaps kept the camp supplied with fuel in the form of "Mezquite" roots which was the only available fuel but, fortunately, very plentiful in the area. The civilian employees no doubt performed the actual work of drilling, repairing equipment, and served as teamsters, as it was customary at this date to hire civilians to drive the government owned teams of the army.

When the drill bit reached the depth of three hundred and sixty feet water was encountered which rose in the well seventy feet, the altitude of Delaware Springs, headwaters of Delaware Creek, and a point which had figured prominently in the geologist's artesian theory.<sup>20</sup> The first intimation of the trouble which was to plague the project until the very end came during these first days of boring.

When Pope had made his geological report on the region while crossing the country the previous year it had been evaluated by a geologist, a Mr. Marcou, but the drilling operation found that Marcou had erred in his determination of the hardness of the strata,<sup>21</sup> resulting in the necessity of lining the entire well with tubing to prevent the sides from caving in.

Five hundred feet of tubing had been included with the equipment and was deemed sufficient for all the needs of all the wells to be drilled. This five hundred feet was now used to line that amount of hole, then the boring proceeded an-

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20. 34 Cong., 1 and 2 Sess., Sen. Docs., Vol. 2, No. 1, Pt. 2, pp. 90-98.

21. 34 Cong., 1 Sess., H. Ex. Docs., Vol. 1, No. 1, Pt. 2, pp. 94-98.

other one hundred feet without tubing, when another vein of water was reached which rose rapidly to the depth of two hundred and fifty feet from the surface, saturating the strata below the tubing; this unlined portion of the well immediately caved in, filling the hole for seventy feet and sealing off the inrushing water. Pumps were immediately manned for twelve days and nights in an attempt to clear the hole but with no success. Nothing further could be done until an additional supply of tubing could be secured from the East, so operations were perforce halted, Washington was advised of the turn of events and the necessary supply of tubing requested.

Pope's report at this time must have been a combined cry of affliction and an outpouring of exuberant confidence in the future, for on November 29,<sup>22</sup> when reporting the activities for the year, Captain Humphreys went to great lengths to describe the geological picture surrounding the well in relation to the supposed source of supply of precipitation in the Guadalupe Mountains, and to state that Pope "—was convinced that a clear stream or reservoir would have been found twenty feet lower" and that "—the water, which appeared at the depth of six hundred and forty feet . . . would have risen to the surface in larger quantities . . ." had not the well been plugged by the caving strata, "—and in the opinion of Captain Pope, the practicability of constructing artesian wells on the Llano Estacado had been fully established. . . ." The turn of events was a sore disappointment to Pope.

War Department orders had required "—after the successful completion of the well on the Llano Estacado, or the demonstration of its impracticability, to make borings at certain points west of the Rio Grande . . . in order to determine the practicability of artesian wells there, and the depths at which water can be had (by ordinary wells) at the driest season, and the thickness of the water-bearing strata."<sup>23</sup>

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22. *Ibid.*

23. 34 Cong., 1 and 2 Sess., Ex. Docs., Vol. 2, No. 1, Pt. 2, pp. 90-98.

So now the drilling machinery and all equipment, the tents and camp equipage, were packed, the wagons loaded and the party moved west to a point "—ten miles distant from Fort Fillmore, on the plain west of the Rio Grande—"placing this well site about thirteen miles southwest of Las Cruces, New Mexico.<sup>24</sup>

Boring operations were started about the 1st of November, 1855, and halted on the 15th of February, 1856, at the depth of 293 feet, in the midst of very difficult progress. On the 10th of February, Pope had reported to Davis, urging that this well be completed at some future date for the beneficial effect it would have upon public opinion, adding that "I confidently believe that but little more labor will be necessary to secure complete success." Later he was to reverse his opinions, or at least his statements, herewith.

While this work was in progress a reconnaissance party from the command proceeded to what was termed in the reports, the Jornada del Muerto, but was in the neighborhood of Anton Chico, New Mexico, to determine the feasibility of drilling for water (again the rather wishful term "Artesian wells" is used). The geologist expressed the opinion that a well must be sunk to a carboniferous strata lying at a depth of 1,500 feet. Pope disagreed with this opinion,<sup>25</sup> saying that boring need not go more than half this depth. One cannot but wonder if Pope was truly honest in this dissention or was it his stubborn, hard-headed insistence on the theory of extensive artesian water.

As the new supply of tubing was expected to arrive at the well site east of the Pecos about the 1st of April the expedition retraced its way there, arriving about the last of March, and began boring on a new site about five miles east of the first location on the 5th of April, 1856.<sup>26</sup> By the 16th of that month, at a depth of 245 feet, another supply of

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24. Report of Sec. of War, 1856; 34 Cong., 3 Sess., Sen. Ex. Doc., Vol. 3, No. 5, pp. 303-315. Pope to Sec. of War, Doña Ana, New Mex., Feb. 10, 1856.

25. Pope to Sec. of War, Doña Ana, New Mexico, Nov. 15, 1855.

26. Pope to Sec. of War, Washington, D. C., Nov. 22, 1856, *supra* note 18.

water was reached. Remembering the disastrous experience of the previous year Pope halted operations to wait for his coveted tubing.

This tubing, 1,200 feet of it, was made ready for its long journey in Philadelphia<sup>27</sup> and was of wrought iron, three inches inside diameter, sidewalls at bit over 3/16 of an inch thick and with screw joints. It was cut into nine foot lengths, whether to facilitate shipment in wagons or handling during boring operations the report does not say. Also included was four hundred feet of 1 1/4 inch wrought iron pipe, cut into nine foot lengths. The smaller pipes were "such as are used for boring-rods" and they "would doubtless be of use for other purposes if not wanted or not suitable for boring-rods."

This shipment arrived in New Orleans and left there by steamer for Indianola on the 7th of February, 1856. From Indianola to the Pecos, by way of San Antonio, there were many delays due to the condition of the roads, no doubt because of spring rains, and did not arrive at the new well site until the 27th of March. Operations were immediately resumed and the well was soon down to 450 feet when Pope's star of destiny again took a nose dive. The "—third piece of tubing from the bottom" collapsed and this well was also abandoned, after salvaging as much of the tubing as could be pulled from its depth.

On the 20th of May a third well was started, eight miles east of the Pecos and opposite the mouth of the Delaware. At 676 feet, approximately the same depth as the last supply found in the first well, water was encountered, rising to within 110 feet of the surface. The strata, the piercing of which Pope had so optimistically predicted would bring forth water to overflow the surface, was not encountered. Still the boring proceeded, and on July 20 the well had reached a depth of 809 feet when the original supply of 1200 feet of wooden boring rods, reduced to breakage, gave out and recourse was had to the substitution of the ash tent poles but

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27. Report of Sec. of War, 1856, *op. cit.*

apparently with very little success, for at 861 feet Pope was forced to cease operations. No new supply of water had been encountered.

The well was now secured so that boring operations could be resumed at any future time. Pope disbanded his expedition after storing all boring equipment at Fort Fillmore, and returned to Washington to prepare his report of the nearly two years work, to press for new equipment and a renewal of the project the following year.

In concluding his report, Capt. Humphreys, apparently echoing Pope's optimism, says: "It is to be regretted that the boring could not have been continued to the depth of about 1,000 feet, since there is great probability that a large supply of water, overflowing the surface, would have been found at or near that depth. . . ."

Pope's next activities are revealed in orders from Washington, May 5, 1857, signed by Sec. John B. Floyd. . . .

"The organization and outfit having been completed, you will move to the Pecos river, near the 32nd parallel of latitude, establish your camp at a convenient position, resume the boring of the well left unfinished during the past summer, and continue the work until the water flows out continuously upon the surface. . . ." <sup>28</sup>

The annual reports of the Secretary of War fail to give a complete report on the different military escorts furnished Pope. However, under date of June 30, 1856, he reports: "Escort to Pacific railroad surveys, situated on the Pecos river, where it is intersected by 32° parallel of latitude, commanded by Captain C. H. Stevenson, 5th Infantry, garrisoned by 2 companies of 5th and 8th Infantry, with 8 officers and 125 enlisted men present and absent, and 5 officers and 125 enlisted men present and absent, and 5 officers and 125 enlisted men present." <sup>30</sup> Two years later: "Artesian Well Camp, located near the junction of Delaware creek with the Pecos

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28. Floyd to Pope, Washington, D. C., May 5, 1857, *supra* note 16.

There is no footnote no. 29.

30. Report of Sec. of War, 1856; *op. cit.*, pp. 244-45.



river, Texas, commanded by Captain J. Pope, Topographical Engineers, with a detachment of 2nd Cavalry and 8th Infantry, with 4 officers and 96 men.”<sup>31</sup> Incomplete though these reports are, they do give a good military picture of the experiment, as well as the total of Pope’s personnel.

Pope’s reports illustrate the overwhelming trials attending the third and last well on the Pecos, and mirror his fierce and/or stubborn insistent declarations that the experiment had not been a failure, only attended with adversity, and that the water was still to be had, overflowing the surface, if he could only have had the equipment to attain the proper depth.<sup>32</sup>

On September 2 boring operations were resumed for enlarging the size of the third well to five inches to the first water, a depth of 249 feet “—into which I shall fit a copper pump for the supply of engine and men.” This is the first mention that a boiler and steam engine had been substituted for the first mule-powered rig. “This will occupy us about twelve days, by which time the engine will be fitted up and ready to resume boring of the well at the depth attained last year, I anticipate with confidence, a successful result within two months.”

On October 1, Pope reported the pump operating and supplying water to the engine; also that his men had cut and hauled a supply of “mezquite” roots sufficient to supply fuel for the boiler for three months. They were now occupied in clearing the well of mud and sand accumulated since abandonment in August of 1856.

January 5, 1858, we find Pope’s first cry of affliction, which was to develop into a series of wails and cries. He was still engaged with the Pecos well at the depth of 950 feet, the delay due to “repeated accidents and breakages of machinery,” but he was optimistic for the future, and was daily

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31. Report of Sec. of War, 1858-59; 35 Cong., 2 Sess., H. Ex. Docs., Vol. 2, Pt. 3, pp. 776-77.

32. Pope to Humphreys, Report of Sec. of War, 1858-59; 35 Cong., 2 Sess., H. Ex. Docs., Vol. 2, Pt. 2, pp. 582-608.

expecting the water to overflow the surface. The weather too had dealt him a serious blow, being unusually severe, forcing him to send all horses and mules not absolutely necessary to the operations to Fort Davis to be fed and cared for.

On February 26, the well was still unfinished, the delay due to a formation that caved so badly as to make the sinking of tubing almost impossible. This was compounded by "—the breaking of the boring apparatus near the lower extremity," and this in turn furthered by the caving in of the well above the point of breakage, calling for what has since been termed by the well-drilling fraternity, a "fishing job." The broken equipment recovered, and at a depth of 1,047 feet, the "cast iron pump of the engine" burst and he was forced to send to Galveston for a replacement. This last development, however, was not so serious as to cause a curtailment of operations, but had been very irritating. The strata through which they were now passing was very encouraging and "I entertain the hope daily of completing the work, which would, no doubt, have been finished long since but for the many and wholly unusual and unanticipated accidents, . . ."

On April 1, the work had progressed no further than at the last report. The trouble now was the effect of the water used in the boiler of the steam engine. Although they had substituted use of water from the well for that from the Pecos River for use at the well-site, "the water of the Pecos river, which we are obliged to use in the steam engine, forms a hard solid coating around the flues in the course of a very few days, and occasions leakage in the boiler sufficient to prevent the raising of steam." Pope had been forced to replace these flues with new ones, and to redesign the boiler so that it could be readily cleaned of this scale every few days, thus losing several weeks work upon the well.

The last hundred feet of the well at this depth, 1,049 feet, had been through a strata whose hard, projecting edges had, in only a few minutes of work, cut through the wooden poles used in drilling, then when an attempt was made to substitute

others of iron, these too were damaged to the point of uselessness. Great difficulty was also being encountered in forcing the tubing down through the last portion of the well drilled. The strata had given way enough to grip the tubing as it was being forced downwards, and enough force in driving it had to be used so that the upper end was crushed and the screw threads below were torn out. Pope believed in the eventual success of his attempt to sink the tubing to the bottom but warned that it would take time. He also stated with very "little doubt," of the close proximity to "the water," giving as his reasons the close similarity of the formations to that upon the surface at the springs at the head of Delaware Creek. He had reduced his party as much as possible in order to curtail expenses.

The appropriation was getting slender and it was evident that Pope—and the War Department—had bitten off too much to chew handily; so, on April 14, Capt. Humphreys wrote that in view of the "unexpected difficulties" and "unavoidable delays," the Secretary of War directed that *upon completion* of the Pecos well, instead of resuming work upon the well west of Fort Fillmore as previously ordered, Pope was to transfer his artesian well experiment to the neighborhood of Anton Chico, where he had reported a dearth of water for nearly 80 miles on the wagon road from Independence, Missouri, and Fort Leavenworth to Albuquerque, and had recommended the boring of an experimental well.<sup>33</sup>

Pope reported in detail upon construction methods:

The boring is done by means of oak poles, 1¾ inches in diameter, in 16 foot sections joined in twos by heavy iron straps. Each boring rod is therefore 32 feet long with a male screw at one end and a female screw at the other, both having very strong and heavy threads. The drill has a straight edge of 3½ inches, and is attached to an iron rod 30 feet long and 1½ inch in diameter. The upper end of this iron rod (or sinker) is attached to a pair of iron slips, having a play of 16 inches (the fall of the drill) and to these are screwed on the

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33. *Ibid.*

wooden poles, up to the surface. The upper end of the poles is attached by a moveable chain to a spring beam worked by steam, and (boring at the usual speed) the drill falls fifty-five times a minute. The borings are pumped out by a sand pump of copper, 9 feet long, which works with a rope passing around a drum attached to a steam engine. The hole is pumped on an average once in  $2\frac{1}{2}$  hours of boring.<sup>34</sup>

Reference was also made to the use of spring, or under-cutting, drills to enlarge the well to  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches for a distance of 78 feet below the bottom of the tubing, to facilitate the sinking of the  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inch tubes, but this work was practically nullified by the slipping and closing in of the strata so as to again grip the sides of the tubes, and recourse must still be had to driving "as heavily as it would bear." Now the iron sinker between the wooden poles and the cutter bit broke through in the middle and the well again caved in, filling up to a height of 60 feet. This required six weeks of labor to clear the well before the broken parts could be fished out, with "incredible difficulty and labor."

To obviate the cutting through of the wooden poles by the sharp formation, the lower reaches of the well were lined with smaller, 3 inch copper tubing.

About this time the Devil must have been cackling with glee, for the iron slips broke below the new tubing and it was impossible to recover them without first withdrawing the 3 inch tubing, joint by joint, and while this was in progress, the last nine foot joint of the string pulled loose at the threaded joint, was left in the well, and had to be bored out, a combined operation which consumed another two weeks—two very frustrating weeks!

Pope again commented upon the severity of the past winter; it had "—greatly incommoded us, from inadequate protection of the men from unusually inclement weather for this region, and there were many days during the severe northerners, incident to this country, in which it was impossible to work." There can be no doubt that the weather did cause much in-

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34. *Ibid.*

convenience, delay, and even actual suffering, not only to the men, quartered in tents, but to the draft animals as well, for open as this country is, unprotected by either timber or terrain, it is exposed to the fury of some of the most vicious sand storms of any section of the United States, occurring, at their worst, from late January or early February and lasting until late May or early June.

Under date of June 4, 1858, he reported to Capt. Humphreys what amounted to a figurative bombshell:

Abundant springs of living water have been discovered on the summit of the Llano Estacado, fifty miles due east from this camp, and about half-way between the Pecos and Mustang Springs. An exploring party which I sent out some days since returned today, after having carefully explored the country eastward from this place and have found a hard, firm road over the entire distance to these springs. From this camp in a due easterly course to the Mustang Springs is a distance of eighty-five miles. . . .

Two hundred of these springs, some of them thirty yards in circumference, have been found extending in a direction north and south over a space of nine miles. Everywhere in the neighborhood of the water we found groves of willow trees thirty feet high, and from four to six inches in diameter. . . .

The existence of this water and of a hard firm road across the plain, will be of prodigious service to travel and is particularly fortunate in being discovered at this time, as it is precisely on the most direct route of the semi-weekly mail to California. Its discovery also will greatly diminish the importance of the artesian well boring experiment in this plain.<sup>35</sup>

On June 4, Pope wrote that, "after incredible labor," the broken sinker had been recovered and boring operations had been resumed, and complained of "difficulties in the work which no previous experience in artesian well boring has yet exhibited," arising from the caving actions on the sides of the well caused by large and powerful streams of underground water. Large caverns have been formed in the strata, one of which was "so large that broken iron rods five feet long

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35. *Ibid.*

completely disappear in it, though entering it perpendicular to the bore.”<sup>36</sup> He had considered inserting his next smaller size tubing, of  $2\frac{3}{4}$  inch diameter, but hesitated because of the extreme difficulty of “fishing” for lost drilling tools and tubing through such a restricted bore. He had had his fingers burned, had learned his lesson, and like his brothers of the fishing fraternity, both before and since, he was taking no unnecessary risks on needlessly increasing the difficulties attendant. He now commented that “I have no expectations that much more depth of boring will be necessary, but our difficulty has been in boring *at all*.” Expressing the hope that, if no other reverses were met with, the well would be finished “—any day,” he refused to set a tentative date of completion.

Winter was approaching and he voiced doubts as to the willingness of his civilian employees to remain through the rigors of another season of such inclemency as the last one; adding that such weather was especially distressing to the horses and mules, since there was no shelter for them from the elements, no timber nearer than seventy miles, and no men or wagons to be spared to go after it. The animals must certainly have been in bad shape with half forage rations, transported one hundred and twenty miles from Fort Davis.

He expressed *hopes* of continuing the well to the depth of 2,200 feet, *provided there were no further difficulties to contend with*, but made what was a virtual recommendation to the War Department that the Pecos experiment be abandoned in favor of another venture at some other point; he recommended the Anton Chico site as a most likely location. Since the government wagon trains bringing supplies to the Department of New Mexico passed by there it was of vital importance, and according to Pope was seriously deficient in water. Also, the well boring experiment near Doña Ana “is the most doubtful of success,” in complete contradiction of his opinion expressed to Davis in 1856. Although Humphreys had, on April 14, ordered Pope to do precisely as he recom-

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36. *Ibid.*

mended in the above communication, this order had been contingent upon completion of the Pecos well. Pope was now requesting permission to abandon this well and to proceed immediately to Anton Chico, summarizing from several reports his array of troubles:

"Such in brief are the difficulties, mechanical and physical, which have so long embarrassed the work, and which I fear will be impossible to surmount at a place so remote from every convenience, and where it is so nearly impracticable to replace any part of the necessary machinery." However, he was still completely unbowed in his contention that artesian water existed, and that it was possible to reach it by boring if only the proper equipment were available.

On July 10, with the approval of the Secretary of War, Pope's recommendation that the Pecos experiment be declared impracticable was accepted. So, with the greatest of disappointment and a well at a depth of 1,050 feet, he packed his machinery and camp equipage once more and turned his back upon three years of indefatigable labor, of his brightest hopes and fondest dreams, now shattered beyond redemption, and proceeded to Fort Fillmore.

Although Pope had thus far given Anton Chico as the location, or perhaps approximate location, of a proposed well, but the site seems to have been actually located near Galisteo,<sup>37</sup> a good fifty miles west of Anton Chico and about twenty-five miles south of Santa Fe. All further communications refer to this point. Col. Benjamin Louis Eulalie Bonneville, commanding the Department of New Mexico in 1859, reports an escort to Capt. Pope's artesian well party at Galisteo,<sup>38</sup> composed of one officer and sixty-one men of the Mounted Rifles, the officer being Lieut. C. H. McNalley.

Boring commenced "with the steam power" on December 1, 1858,<sup>39</sup> and by June 24, 1859, had reached the depth of

37. Report of Sec. of War, 1859; 36 Cong., 1 Sess., Sen. Ex. Docs., Vol. 2, No. 2, pp. 544-48.

38. Bonneville to Thomas, July 15, 1859; Ms., Letters Received, Adjutant General's Office, Old Files Section, Executive Division.

39. Report of Sec. of War, 1859, *op. cit.*

1,301 feet, a rate of progress which Pope considered quite creditable. Water had risen in the well to within twenty feet of the surface, and "—by going a mile or two further to the south, and selecting someplace where deep washes had been made by the surface drainage, it could be made to overflow the surface of such ravines" by boring to depths of not more than 330 feet. Such results, he said, would be sufficient to supply the needs of travellers along this route to Albuquerque but not those of agriculture. Pope here implied that nothing short of his oft-repeated "water overflowing to the surface," would answer to the needs of agriculture, and indeed, viewed from the pumping equipment of that day he was quite right, for steam powered pumps were far too expensive to operate for the use of the individual farmer.

Pope now gives the impression that his interest in the project had burned to embers: "The work will be prosecuted up to the 1st of July, when I shall close up the affairs of the expedition and march for Fort Leavenworth."<sup>40</sup> It is most likely that his appropriation, which sometime during operations had been increased by an additional \$60,000,<sup>41</sup> had by now become exhausted, and Congress, now apathetic, had failed to provide more. Indeed, the experiment had been somewhat of a thorn in the side of that body, for public reaction to it had not been kind. Newspapers of the day severely castigated both Congress and others implicated, charging wanton waste of public funds and referring to the experiment as "Pope's Folly."<sup>42</sup> Quite a contrast to the untold millions of dollars spent in later years to develop the many huge projects now supplying water to agricultural areas throughout the West, and one of which has actually inundated most of the site of Pope's supply camp on the Pecos.

Today there is little visible evidence of Pope's activities to be found.<sup>43</sup> The ledge of rocks over which he crossed his

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40. *Ibid.*

41. Conkling, *The Butterfield Overland Mail, 1857-1869*, p. 386.

42. *Ibid.*

43. Personal Investigations of the Author.



train of wagons to the east bank of the Pecos, while enroute to the Red River in 1854, is still to be seen just above the mouth of Delaware Creek. All trace of his crossing has long since been erased by the many raging floods of which the Pecos is capable, and the banks are now high and abrupt, causing one to wonder how such a feat could be possible.

The ruins of Pope's Camp, one small flagstoned space, a few feet in area, and a couple of tumbled down stone foundations, are silent reminders of the past. The location is known to only a small handful of local residents, very few of whom, in turn, know the history of the place.

The site of the third well is marked on official Eddy County, New Mexico, maps by the single word "Pope," and is very sketchily known locally as "Pope's Hill." Three and a half miles southwest of the old Ross "V Staple" Ranch headquarters, and, despite Pope's statement that it was eight miles from the Pecos, it is no more than four miles from that stream. The hill rises about a hundred feet above the surrounding plain and furnishes a splendid view of the countryside. Atop the hill are the ruins of four or five rock shelters, one still contains the remains of a stone fireplace. Judging from the size of these ruins and the prominent location, it is probable that they were the quarters, and perhaps mess, of Pope, his fellow officers stationed at the site, and his civilian superintendent in charge of boring operations. Below the hill, to the south, are several smaller rock ruins which may have been the quarters of some of the laborers, or perhaps their kitchen shelters or mess. The small number of rocks composing each ruin indicates that they were not complete buildings but only low walls, surmounted by tents for roofs.

Sheltered by the hill, on the southwest side, is a large depression, showing signs of having been excavated by hand, in the bottom of which, by diligent search with a shovel, may still be found bits of scrap iron, which, together with considerable charcoal, indicates that it was probably the location of the blacksmith's forge. Adjoining this supposed shop area,

a few feet to the south, is found a wide distribution of charcoal, intermixed with the sand and gravel of the hillside, too plentiful to have been merely the result of a forge fire, indicating the probable location of the mesquite-fired boiler. A diligent search of the area reveals no other charcoal deposits. When the writer visited this site recently, there were several pieces of torn, battered pipe, about the size of Pope's smallest iron tubing, lying about, which, with the proximity of the probable site of the boiler, would indicate that the actual site of the third well was also on this spot.

Local sources also say that the old boiler, abandoned just before Pope marched for the Anton Chico site, lay near here until recent years, when it was hauled away for scrap.

Standing atop Pope's Hill one can see, several miles to the southeast, two or three oil wells, outriders of a small, encroaching field, and to the southwest, the blue, sparkling waters of Red Bluff Lake and the Pecos River, but other than these the view affords nothing but an enormous expanse of country, plains and long, rolling hills, for many miles around. One cannot but help marvelling at the temerity, courage, and tenacity of purpose of this party, Pope and men alike, who braved these solitudes, hundreds of miles from society, comfort and even wholesome food, to pioneer the idea of providing water for a thirsty land.

As somewhat of an anti-climax to the artesian well experiment, in 1890, artesian water was accidentally discovered in the town of Roswell, New Mexico, approximately 120 miles north of Pope's site. Here the original discovery was made at a depth of 160 feet and a flow of four gallons a minute was developed. This discovery well was followed by a much larger supply at 250 to 1,000 feet, producing from 1,000 to 9,100 gallons a minute, and resulted in the eventual completion of a total of 1854 wells in Chavez and Eddy Counties.

This artesian basin was supplied in precisely the same manner claimed by Pope as a source for his anticipated wells except that the source lay in the Sacramento Mountains, some

miles to the north of the Guadalupe. These wells of the Roswell and Artesia area did just what Pope so fondly hoped to accomplish on the Llano Estacado—they transformed thousands of acres of desert land into beautiful, highly productive farms, many of which were veritable show places until the underground water supply became depleted from over production in the early years of 1900.

Although Pope's location was fully 80 miles from the nearest of the Roswell-Artesia wells, he has certainly been vindicated in his belief that the mountains of southern New Mexico were a source of artesian water. "Pope's Folly" was not so fallacious after all, and foolish though his experiment may have appeared to some it was still noble in the perspective of man's stubborn drive to conquer Nature's forbidding frontiers.

Pope's monthly expenses for 1855 are interesting in the light of present day inflated prices, for example:

1 geologist [Dr. Shumard] at \$150. 1 superintendent artesian boring \$150. 1 assistant in charge of magnetic observations and topographer \$120. 1 assistant in charge of meteorological observations and assistant astronomer \$80. 1 assistant in charge commissary and quartermaster stores \$50. 3 sub-assistants in charge making and preserving collections in botany and natural history and care of instruments \$50. 1 blacksmith \$50. 1 copper-smith \$50. 1 carpenter \$50. 3 augers new \$40. 1 wagonmaster \$50. 12 teamsters at \$30 per month (these men are rated as teamsters and drive while on the march but are employed at work night and day with the boring part and paid accordingly.) 6 teamsters at \$25. 6 laborers at \$30. 4 herders of mules and cattle at \$25. 1 cook for artesian party at \$25. 1 servant and 1 cook for geologist mess at \$25 each.

Rations were listed at 13 cents per ration and transportation charges on same at 10 cent per pound, making one month's rations for 50 men cost a total of \$495, i.e. rations \$195 and transportation \$300.

The whole expenses of the entire party for one year to March 1st., 1856 had been \$55,719.72½.

In invoicing the value of his equipment he listed the following:

artesian apparatus \$3,750. 108 mules at \$60. 16 wagons at \$150. 8 horses (ponies for express duties etc.) at \$60. 96 sets harness at \$6. 2 spring wagons and harness at \$250. camp equipage, forge, arms, etc., \$100. The whole value of equipment was \$15,186.00.

"When it is necessary to employ the army at work on fortifications, in surveys, in cutting roads, and other constant labor of not less than ten days, the non-commissioned officers and soldiers so employed are enrolled as extra-duty men, and are allowed twenty-five cents a day when employed as laborers and teamsters, and forty cents a day when employed as mechanics, at all stations east of the Rocky Mountains, and thirty-five and fifty cents per day, respectively, at all stations west of those mountains."

Extract from: Article XXXIX, *Working Parties, Regulations For the Army of the United States, 1857*. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers. (Chief of Military History to Lee Myers, Washington, D.C., March 1, 1961).

## CONFEDERATE HERO AT VAL VERDE

By ODIE B. FAULK\*

THERE are many men who in their own time were widely known and performed great deeds, yet who are almost entirely forgotten by present-day historians. Such a neglected figure is Major General Tom Green, a Confederate hero often confused with one of his contemporaries, Thomas Jefferson Green. Both played important roles during the days of the Republic of Texas, but T. J. Green left Texas in 1845 and was in no way connected with the Confederate invasion of New Mexico.

Born July 8, 1814, in Buckingham County, Virginia, Green moved with his parents to Tennessee in 1817 and settled on a farm near Winchester.<sup>1</sup> There he spent his youth at work and in school, graduating in 1834 from the University of Tennessee. He studied law for over a year, but was restless and longed for excitement.<sup>2</sup> In the fall of 1835 like many other Southern youths, he decided his destiny lay west of the Sabine River where the Texans were fighting the tyranny and usurpations of Santa Anna. Green arrived in Nacogdoches on Christmas Day, 1835, enlisted as a private in the regular Texan army, and participated in the San Jacinto campaign as one of the artillerymen who manned the Twin Sisters. Although he was promoted to the rank of major and aide-de-camp to General Thomas J. Rusk shortly after the battle, Green decided he did not want an army career. He resigned on May 30, 1836, and returned to Tennessee for further law study.<sup>3</sup>

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\* Library 318. The University of Arizona, Tucson, Ariz.

1. Tom Green's tombstone, Oakwood Cemetery, Austin; *Biographical Encyclopedia of Texas* (New York: Southern Publication Company, 1880), 121; Joseph D. Sayers, "To Tom Green," *Dallas Morning News*, February 23, 1909, p. 8.

2. Elizabeth LeNoir Jennett, ed., *Biographical Directory of Texan Conventions and Congresses* (Austin: The State of Texas, 1941), 90; Sayers, "To Tom Green."

3. Louis W. Kemp, San Jacinto Roll (Mss, Archives, Texas State Library, Austin); Sam H. Dixon and Louis W. Kemp, *The Heroes of San Jacinto* (Houston: The Anson Jones Press, 1932), 78-79.

The same restless urge still moved in his blood, however. In the spring of 1837, apparently without ever taking the bar exam, Green returned to the Lone Star Republic where he secured the post of engrossing clerk in the Second Session of the First Texan Congress, a position he held in the Second, Third, and Fifth Congresses.<sup>4</sup> He was a member of the House of Representatives in the Fourth Congress and secretary of the Senate in the Sixth and Eighth Congresses. In 1841 he became clerk of the Supreme Court, a post he honorably held until the outbreak of the Civil War.<sup>5</sup> He accepted his land bonus and his headright certificate and claimed a total of 2,756 acres, most of which was located in Fayette County, southeast of Austin. He made his home, when not at the capital, at LaGrange, the county seat of Fayette County.<sup>6</sup>

In addition to his other activities, Green found time to participate in nine Indian and Mexican campaigns during the hectic years of the republic. The most outstanding expeditions of which he was a member were the John H. Moore campaign against the Comanches in 1841 and the Mier Expedition of 1842. Green narrowly missed capture at Mier; the scouting company of which he was a part was allowed to return home the day before the fighting occurred for all appeared peaceful at that time.<sup>7</sup>

During the Mexican War Green served as a ranger captain under John C. Hayes and distinguished himself for bravery during the battle for Monterrey. After his discharge in the fall of 1846, he returned to Texas and the following

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4. Of all the biographical sketches of Green, only Jennett, *Biographical Directory*, 90, states that he took the bar exam. There is good reason for doubt, however. Mrs. Z. T. Fulmore, "Tom Green," *Confederate Veteran*, XV (February 1907), 79; for his appointments in the House of Representatives, see the appropriate House *Journals*.

5. For Green's activities in the Fourth Congress, see the House *Journal* for that year; see the Senate *Journals* for his activities in that body; for his appointment in the Supreme Court, see "Minutes of the Supreme Court of Texas, 1841-1849" (Office of the Supreme Court, Austin).

6. Kemp, San Jacinto Roll.

7. Sterling B. Hendricks, "The Somervell Expedition to the Rio Grande," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXIII (October 1919), 115-135; *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 122.

January married Mary Wallace Chambers. In addition to their own six children, Green and his wife raised another half dozen who were the orphaned brothers and sisters of his wife.<sup>8</sup>

With the outbreak of the Civil War, young men and old in both North and South hurried to the standards of their respective loyalties. Green cast his lot with Texas and the South. At that time he was forty-seven years old; since the age of twenty-one he had been engaged in numerous battles against the Indians and Mexicans and had gained valuable experience in warfare. During the summer of 1861 he saw a notice that Brig. Gen. H. H. Sibley was recruiting "Volunteer Cavalry" in San Antonio for an expedition to conquer New Mexico from the Yankees. Green accepted a commission as colonel and commander of the Fifth Regiment in the Sibley Brigade.<sup>9</sup>

Poorly armed and ill-prepared for the wintry cold of New Mexico, the men left San Antonio on October 26, 1861, full of high spirits and expectations of victory. As the troops proudly filed past Sibley's reviewing stand, one company failed to hear an order to turn and marched straight ahead, soon passing out of sight over a nearby hill. "Gone to Hell," grunted Sibley, unaware that he was accurately forecasting the outcome of his entire New Mexican venture.<sup>10</sup>

Traveling in small detachments because of the scarcity of water and grass along the San Antonio-El Paso road, the Brigade members suffered from Apache attacks, food shortages, and inept leadership. Sibley was unaffectionately dubbed the "Walking Whiskey Keg" by the troops, and it was

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8. Samuel C. Reid, Jr., *The Scouting Expeditions of McCulloch's Texas Rangers* (Philadelphia: J. W. Bradley, 1860), 152-204; *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 123; *Diary of Sarah Glenn Riddell*, Tom Green Scrapbook (Mss, Archives, Texas State Library, Austin).

9. Gertrude Harris, *A Tale of Men Who Knew Not Fear* (San Antonio: Alamo Printing Co., 1935), 22-25.

10. W. T. Wroe, *New Mexico Campaign in 1861-62* (Mss, n.d., Confederate Museum, Austin); W. W. Heartsill, *Fourteen Hundred and 91 Days in the Confederate Army* (Jackson, Tenn.: McCowat-Mercer Press, 1954; facsimile reprint of 1876 original), 49. For the details of this entire campaign see William I. Waldrip, "New Mexico During the Civil War," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, XXVIII (July 1953), 163-182, and XXVIII (October 1953), 251-290.

noted that he always remained well in the rear as they entered enemy territory.<sup>11</sup> Fortunately for the Texans there were three able leaders among them: Tom Green, "Dirty Shirt" Bill Scurry, and A. P. Bagby. To these men, all of whom later became generals in the Confederate Army, the men turned for leadership.

The Brigade reunited at Fort Quitman on the Rio Grande some eighty miles south of El Paso and moved toward Fort Craig, New Mexico, where Col. Edward Richard Canby, Sibley's brother-in-law, waited with an estimated five to eight thousand Federal troops. On the evening of February 20, 1862, the Confederates camped three miles east of the Fort, which was located on the west bank of the Rio Grande.<sup>12</sup>

During the night a Federal captain, James Graydon, conceived a daring plan to cause panic among the Confederate force. Receiving permission from Canby for his enterprise, Graydon and a scouting company loaded twelve twenty-four pound howitzer shells into two wooden boxes, cut the fuses very short, lashed the boxes on the backs of two mules, and stealthily crossed the river, intending to lead the mules within sight of the Texans' horses, light the fuses, and turn the mules loose, assuming that they would head for the nearby animals. All worked as planned until the mules were released. Instead of walking into the Texan's camp, the stubborn animals turned and followed the retreating Federals. When the first shells exploded, the Texans grabbed their weapons and hurried forth to drive away the enemy, but there was no need. The mules were doing the job for them very nicely.<sup>13</sup>

There was nothing humorous about the next day, however. At 9 A.M. the battle commenced on the east bank of the

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11. Theophilus Noel, *Autobiography and Reminiscences* (Chicago: Theo Noel Establishment, 1904), 61-62.

12. Theo Noel, *A Campaign From Santa Fe to the Mississippi of the Old Sibley Brigade* (Shreveport, La.: Shreveport News Printing Establishment, 1865), 12; Harris, *A Tale of Men Who Knew Not Fear*, 31-32. For the story of the Battle of Val Verde see Colonel M. L. Crimmins, contributor, "The Battle of Val Verde," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, VII (October 1932), 348-352.

13. Harris, *A Tale of Men Who Knew Not Fear*, 31-32.

Rio Grande. Sibley confessed in his official report that he had been "sick" for several days previously, but that he took to his saddle to direct the engagement personally. During the morning and early afternoon it appeared that the Federals would win, and the Confederate commander decided he was too "exhausted" to continue. About 1:30 P.M. he retired from the scene, leaving Tom Green in charge of the Confederate forces.<sup>14</sup> Two hours later Canby saw that the tide of battle was in his favor and ordered six pieces of artillery across the river to hasten the end of fighting. When these opened fire, he directed a concentrated movement against both ends of the Texans' line. Several volunteer companies of New Mexico militia refused to obey the command, however, and Green took advantage of the weakened right wing of the Federal force by ordering a charge. The Rebels advanced on the Northerners with such fury that the tide of battle changed. The artillerymen fled in retreat toward the safety of the walls of Fort Craig, and the Union infantry joined them. Shortly after this maneuver had succeeded, Sibley felt well enough to reassume command. His first order was to cease pursuit of the Federals and break off the engagement.<sup>15</sup> During the day's engagement, the Confederates suffered 36 killed, 150 wounded, and 1 missing; the Northerners reported 68 killed, 160 wounded, and 35 missing.<sup>16</sup>

Instead of attacking Fort Craig, Sibley continued the march northward. Green and a force of four hundred hurried ahead of the others and captured Albuquerque, and

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14. H. H. Sibley to General S. Cooper [Confederate Adjutant and Inspector General], Headquarters Army of New Mexico, Fort Bliss, Texas, May 4, 1862, *Official Records The War of the Rebellion* (70 vols., Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1880-1902), Series I, Vol. IX, 507.

15. T. B. Collins, Undated broadside used in J. D. Sayer's campaign for the office of governor of Texas (Sayers Papers, University of Texas Archives, Austin); Tom Green, Report of the Battle of Val Verde, February 22, 1862, quoted in *The War of the Rebellion*, Series I, Vol. IX, 522.

16. Confederate losses are reported in Tom Green, Report of the Battle of Val Verde; Union losses are reported in Ed. R. S. Canby to the Adjutant-General of the Army, Headquarters Department of New Mexico, Fort Craig, N. Mex., March 1, 1862, quoted in *The War of the Rebellion* Series I, Vol. IX, 493.



Santa Fe was taken with no resistance a few days later. Sibley paused to rest in the capital, but he knew that he had to take Fort Union to secure his position. He sent a detachment under the command of Col. Scurry to do the job, but they met unexpected resistance at Glorieta Pass. A desperate battle ensued in which the Yankees were forced to retreat, but the Southerners lost their equipment and many lives and were likewise forced to pull back to Albuquerque.<sup>17</sup>

Before Sibley's force could begin another thrust, word reached the Confederate leaders that a large body of Federal troops were advancing toward New Mexico from Missouri, while from the South Canby, aware that reinforcements were coming, was moving toward Albuquerque with his reorganized army. Sibley convened a council of war to consider the alternatives: defeat, surrender, or retreat. Since the Southern cause was far from lost in the spring of 1862, the council made the logical choice of returning to Texas where the men of the Brigade could be employed in other battles. On April 12 the Texans began the long trek home.<sup>18</sup>

The retreat was a series of indescribable horrors. An outbreak of smallpox decimated the ranks, supplies were nonexistent, and water was scarce. Sibley on April 30 abandoned the Brigade and hurried to Fort Bliss and safety, leaving Tom Green to command the men on the long homeward march. Green succeeded despite Indians, loss of horses, disease and discouragement. During June and July, 1862, the once-proud army straggled into San Antonio.<sup>19</sup>

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17. W. R. Scurry to Maj. A. M. Jackson [Assistant Adjutant-General, Army of New Mexico], Santa Fe, N. Mex., March 31, 1862, *The War of the Rebellion*, Series I, Vol. IX, 542-545. For the accounts of this battle see "Confederate Reminiscences," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, V (July 1930), 315-324, and J. F. Santee, "The Battle of La Glorieta Pass," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, VI (January 1931), 66-75.

18. George H. Pettis, "The Confederate Invasion of New Mexico and Arizona," quoted in Horn and Wallace, eds., *Union Army Operations in the Southwest* (Albuquerque, N.M.: Horn and Wallace Publishers, 1961), 139.

19. Noel, *Campaign*, 33; Noel, *Autobiography*, 63-64. Perhaps this treatment of Sibley is rather harsh, for in his younger days Sibley had been a good man and a brave soldier. By 1861-1862, however, he seems to have taken to drink heavily. After the New Mexican fiasco, Sibley was given a staff position under E. Kirby Smith and Dick Taylor in the Confederate Army of the Trans-Mississippi West.

In November 1862 the "Texas Volunteer Cavalry," as the Sibley Brigade was rechristened, united at Hempstead, Texas, after a long furlough. Sibley himself did not return, and wags in the unit spread the rumor that the general had crawled into a jug of whiskey and pulled the stopper in behind him. Their new commander was Colonel James Reily.<sup>20</sup>

Before the Brigade could be sent to Louisiana where it was desperately needed, Galveston was occupied by the Northerners as part of the Federal strategy to blockade the South. Gen. J. B. Magruder, Confederate commander of the District of Texas, determined to retake the town. He secured two small channel steamers, the *Neptune* and the *Bayou City*, and lined their sides with bales of cotton for protection from small arms fire. A call for volunteers to man the craft was fruitless in Houston, whereupon Tom Green offered to command them if his own men from his regiment could go with him. Magruder gratefully accepted the offer, and a plan of action was arranged.<sup>21</sup>

On December 31 all was ready. At Harrisburg Green and his men boarded the small vessels and set out down the channel. The battle for Galveston commenced the following morning, January 1, 1863, at 4:30 A.M. with an attack by Magruder's land force. Under cover of darkness and the protection of the guns of the nearby Federal fleet, the Northern troops had the best of the fight. Toward dawn Magruder was considering a withdrawal when a cry arose from the attacking Texans, "Green's coming! The fleet's in sight!"<sup>22</sup>

The Union naval commanders turned their attention to the approaching steamers and opened fire. The *Neptune* was hit amidship, broke in half, and quickly sank, but the water was so shallow that when the boat settled to the bottom of the bay the Texans aboard it could stand on deck and not get wet. Green, in personal command of the other Confederate steamer, the *Bayou City*, ordered the equivalent of a charge.

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20. Noel, *Autobiography*, 99.

21. Noel, *Campaign*, 41.

22. Spencer Ford, "Oration delivered by Hon. Spencer Ford, in the Capitol, at the Funeral Ceremonies, over the Remains of Maj. Gen. Tom Green," *Tom Green Scrapbook*.

His ship rammed the *Harriet Lane*, a large Federal gunboat, and at their commander's order the Texans stormed aboard. Green himself, pistol in hand, was one of the first members of the boarding party. Some thoughtful Texan cut the *Harriet Lane's* netting, the sails fell, and in a moment the gunboat surrendered. Green thereupon ordered the ship's guns turned on the other Federal craft in the harbor, which the Texans willingly did with good results. One Union ship was sunk by the fire and another, filled with supplies, captured. The others quickly sailed away. The Massachusetts troops ashore, seeing their naval support gone, quickly surrendered, and Galveston was once again in Confederate hands.<sup>23</sup>

The Brigade returned to Hempstead shortly thereafter, and a month later marched for Louisiana where Union General Nathaniel P. Banks was vigorously pursuing the Southern points. On April 7, 1863, at Berwick Bay the Texans united with the retreating Confederate troops commanded by Maj. Gen. Dick Taylor, son of Zachary Taylor of Mexican War fame. A series of engagements followed in which the Brigade acquitted itself bravely and slowed the retreat. Col. Reily was killed in the skirmish at Camp Bisland, and Green as surviving senior officer assumed command. His action was officially confirmed by an order of April 13 and his force renamed the First Cavalry Brigade, but unofficially it was known as Green's Division.<sup>24</sup>

A newspaperman, writing about Green's efforts during Taylor's retreat, stated that the hero of Val Verde was "fighting the enemy from dawn till dark, watching from dark till the ensuing morn, disputing every foot of ground, burning every bridge (himself the last to cross); in sight and in range of the enemy's guns, he and his men were constantly on duty, often forty-eight hours without either rest

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23. Philip C. Tucker, "United States Gunboat *Harriet Lane*," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXI (April 1918), 366; Richard B. Irwin, "The Capture of Port Hudson," *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (4 vols., New York: The Century Co., 1884), III, 586-587.

24. Ford, "Funeral Oration;" Noel, *Campaign*, 127.

or food.”<sup>25</sup> Taylor gave credit where it was due; he called Green the “Ney—the Shield and Buckler” of his army and recommended the Texan for promotion. On May 4, 1863, Green received the coveted star of a brigadier general.<sup>26</sup>

When Banks grew tired of pursuing Taylor’s force, both Federals and Confederates encamped to rest. Green and his Texans, however, began a series of hard-hitting, fast-moving guerilla raids which lasted six months and brought hope to many discouraged Southerners in the Louisiana area. Riding mules because of their greater endurance, the Texans would strike, ride scores of miles without resting, and unexpectedly strike again. Soon Green’s exploits made his name a household word throughout Louisiana and Texas, and his fame spread across the victory-starved South. Green’s Division gained victory after victory, and a steady stream of prisoners and captured supplies flowed into Taylor’s headquarters. At Brashear City on June 23, Green and his cavalry surprised a numerically superior foe, defeated them decisively, took 1,800 prisoners, recaptured two to three thousand Negro slaves who had been employed in work parties by the Federals, and dispatched three million dollars worth of badly needed commissary and quartermaster supplies, along with twelve pieces of artillery, to Taylor. The Texans in this engagement suffered only three killed and twenty-one wounded, a tribute to Green’s careful planning and daring execution of the raid.<sup>27</sup>

Similar exploits at LaFourche, Morgan’s Ferry, and Borbeaux followed. Green, although almost fifty years old, amazed his men by his powers of endurance and the cheerfulness with which he submitted to the hardships and privations they suffered; he inspired his troops with the same spirit and spurred them on to greater exertions.<sup>28</sup>

Gen. Banks, tiring of his losses in Louisiana, decided to

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25. E. H. Cushing, unidentified newspaper clipping, *Tom Green Scrapbook*.

26. *Ibid.*

27. Green, official “Report,” quoted in Noel, *Campaign*, 51-53.

28. Pendleton Murrah, “Oration Delivered by Gov. P. Murrah, in the Capitol, at the Funeral Ceremonies over the Remains of Maj. Gen. Tom Green,” *Tom Green Scrapbook*.

attack the Rebels at a different point: the Lower Rio Grande Valley. Magruder sent urgent pleas from Texas to his superiors for additional troops to aid in expelling the intruders, and Green's Division was ordered home in December. They arrived in Houston from Louisiana on Christmas Day, 1863, and Green was named commander of Galveston Island. When it became apparent that no attack would come at that point, the Division moved to Hempstead once again and encamped. It was there on February 18, 1864, that the men were cheered by news that Taylor had recommended Green for promotion to major general.<sup>29</sup>

Gen. Banks was not resting, however. In Louisiana he was assembling a force of 27,000 men with the intention of moving up the Red River and capturing the fertile East Texas farm area and the factories at Marshall and Henderson. To counter this threat, Confederate strategists ordered Taylor to move against the Federals. Green's Division on March 5, 1864, took a hasty farewell of family, friends, and home and set out for Louisiana to aid in the counterthrust. They joined Taylor on April 5 at Mansfield.<sup>30</sup>

As the Federals advanced, the overconfident Banks had stretched his army the length of a day's march along a narrow road running through a pine forest. Taylor was aware of the exposed position of the Yankees and deployed his troops accordingly. Four miles from Mansfield eleven thousand Rebels concealed themselves on April 8 along the edge of the trees facing the road. Green and part of his division spent the morning harassing the Union advance in order to give Taylor time to properly locate his men. Then, when all was ready, the Texans withdrew to the ambush site and joined their comrades.<sup>31</sup>

29. Ford, "Funeral Oration;" Noel, *Campaign*, 74, 130; Ezra J. Warner, *Generals in Gray* (Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 1959), 117, 376. Warner comments that Green was referred to as a major general in the *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion*, but that no record of his promotion to that rank has ever been found.

30. Thomas O. Selfridge, "The Navy in the Red River," *Battles and Leaders*, IV, 369; Richard B. Irwin, "The Red River Campaign," *Battles and Leaders*, IV, 352.

31. Irwin, "The Red River Campaign," 352; Ford, "Funeral Oration;" Murrah, "Funeral Oration."

To the tune of Dixie, played by an improvised band, the battle commenced about four in the afternoon. The Confederates poured a withering fire into the enemy ranks, and the Northern troops in confusion turned and fled down the road along which they had been advancing. Union teamsters abandoned the supply wagons and joined in the retreat, compounding the chaos and hampering the desperate Federal officers as they tried to restore order. Shortly before dark the Northerners attempted to make use of their artillery, but Green ordered a charge that overran the guns, captured them, and set the Yankees to flight once more. During the decisive battle at Mansfield, the Union army suffered 1,500 killed or wounded, 2,000 more were captured, and the Confederates took twenty pieces of artillery, two hundred wagons loaded with supplies, and thousands of small arms.<sup>32</sup>

On the night of April 9, the Confederate leaders decided to leave Green and his division to watch and harass Banks' withdrawal, while the main body of Taylor's troops hastened northward to aid in blocking a threatened invasion of North Texas from Arkansas by Union Maj. Gen. Frederick Steele and 17,000 Yankees.<sup>33</sup>

On the morning of April 12 Green's scouts reported that a Union gunboat, the *Osage*, had run aground in the nearby Red River. Arriving at Blair's Landing, the Texan commander found the gunboat had freed itself and had been joined by two other boats. He posted three pieces of artillery on a nearby hill and planned his attack. Then loosing a withering fire of musketry at a distance of one hundred yards, the Texans commenced the battle. The Union gunboats countered with grape and canister shot with telling effect. Green saw that the unequal contest could not long continue without serious Confederate losses and decided to take a desperate gamble. He called for a charge. Placing himself at the head of his men, he told them he would show them how to fight and called on them to follow him. The Texans

32. Irwin, "The Red River Campaign," 354; Harry M. Henderson, *Texas in the Confederacy* (San Antonio: The Naylor Company, 1955), 59-60; Collins, *Campaign Broadside*.

33. Irwin, "The Red River Campaign," 355-356.

jumped into their saddles and with Rebel yells set out. Some forty yards from the *Osage* a cannon shell struck Gen. Green in the forehead, tearing away the upper portion of his skull and killing him instantly. Shortly thereafter the Texans ceased their attack and withdrew, but they had succeeded in carrying out their assignment. Banks' scheme to capture East Texas had failed.<sup>34</sup>

Green's body was returned to Austin where it lay in state in the chamber of the Hall of Representatives for three days. On May 2 he was interred in his family burial plot in Oakwood Cemetery in Austin. The great men of the state gathered to pay homage to the departed hero in one of the largest funeral ceremonies ever accorded a Texan.<sup>35</sup>

Tom Green lived under four of the six flags of Texas and fought under three of them. He personally participated in almost every major event which transpired in the Lone Star State between 1835 and 1864, doing his duty to his family, state, and nation. His name is inseparably linked with the past of Texas, a past he helped create and direct.

Yet Green possessed a strange temperament for a military hero. During times of peace he was content to farm at LaGrange and to sit quietly copying documents as clerk of the Supreme Court. He was well-educated, quiet and sober, and moved in the best circles of early Texas society. In war, however, he was as brave and daring as the most fool-hardy. He would lay aside his pen and his quiet ways and hasten to participate in the battle, always at the forefront of the struggle. In an age of roughnecks—and many of the heroes of early Texas were rough and unpolished—Green assumed the leadership and commanded the respect and loyalty of the frontiersmen as much by the force of his personality as by his bravery. Tom Green the quiet law clerk and Tom Green the daring military figure were two very different men, but both were successful and respected.

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34. *Ibid.*, 356-357; Selfridge, "The Navy in the Red River," 363-364; "Account of the Battle of Blair's Landing," unidentified newspaper clipping, *Tom Green Scrapbook*.

35. "Funeral Obsequis of Gen. Tom Green," unidentified newspaper clipping, *Tom Green Scrapbook*.

## MRS. BLAKE'S SUNDAY SCHOOL

By MARY BLAKE SALMANS\*

WHEN my father visited New Mexico, only ten short years after we had moved from the United States into Mexico, he was surprised to find that Deming had grown into a good-sized town and had settled down to be respectable and law-abiding.

"It even has well-built churches and modern schools," he told us on his return.

But it had been a very different place when we arrived there in 1882. My relatives have long contended that I cannot possibly remember Deming, but I do, very distinctly, although I was only a few years old when I last saw the little western settlement. Probably my memories have been kept alive by hearing the older members of the family tell the adventures we went through there; but when I was about eighteen years old I finally convinced my father that I personally did recall them, because I could supply names and incidents which he had never mentioned in his narratives.

Away back in 1879, my father, at twenty-nine, was the city editor of the *Hawkeye* in Burlington, Iowa, and he was the father of three tiny girls. The quiet life of the beautiful little midwestern city which was our home was eminently suited to a book-loving, studious man, such as my father, and he had no desire to leave Burlington; but life has a bagful of changes for each of us and she is apt to pull something out of the bag at a moment's notice.

One day Poppa came home from a visit to his doctor, looking very dismal. (Like most American children of our time, we called our parents, "Poppa" and "Momma." Years later, after Momma had died and we had a step-mother who was also dear to us, we said, "Pa-pá" and "Mam-má," with the accent demurely on the second syllable. This was partly

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because "Mam-má" was a stickler for correct English and partly because the title distinguished her from our own mother.)

"The doctor says I mustn't go on living in the Iowa climate," Poppa said to our mother sadly. "I could get a small job with that surveying company that's going south, but I can't leave you and the babies to starve."

Momma, who was a great contrast to Poppa, being as big, blonde and healthy as he was slender, dark and delicate, scoffed at the idea of starving.

"I taught school before I was married, and I haven't forgotten how," she said, "Of course, you must go!"

So Poppa joined the surveying expedition, while Momma taught school in Morning Sun, Iowa. We lived there with Poppa's mother, a wonderful woman who always seemed glad to take in any, or all, of the families of her three sons.

The life-giving air of the southwest gradually healed Poppa's lungs. When the surveying job was over, he got a position on a railroad, and after two years he was able to send for his family.

I had my fourth birthday on the southbound journey, and my mother celebrated it to the best of her ability, by buying us each a stick of peppermint candy. That journey was a marvellous experience to us children. I remember the disgust of my older sisters because I could not pronounce the word "train" correctly, but that didn't keep me from acquiring a keen enjoyment of "trains." In fact, I have never gotten over the thrill of travel.

After we had had a sojourn at Poppa's post in Benson, Arizona, he was made station agent at Deming, New Mexico.

What a bleak and barren place Deming looked after Burlington and Morning Sun, with their yards full of gracious trees and their streets ringing with the laughter of happy children! Our house consisted of a single large room in the middle of what seemed to me a vast lot, whose monotony was broken by an occasional dwarfed mesquite tree.

Momma divided our dwelling into two rooms by a heavy

curtain. One side of the room was our sleeping quarters, the other was kitchen, dining-room and sitting-room combined. We had a little outdoor "privy," and later the lot had the addition of a shed, when we could afford the cow who plays an important part in this narrative.

The raw little town seemed always full of "hands" from neighboring ranches, and for years the word "cow-boy" was for me a synonym of "bad man." I was terrified of them, although I am convinced now that they were as afraid of me as I was of them. I was the delicate and spoilt baby of the family and given to tears at the slightest provocation.

The saloon—which took the place of a club for the male inhabitants—was across the enormous lot, directly in front of our house. We children used to sit by our door and listen with big-eyed wonder to the reveling that went on there. We were convulsed with merriment by the efforts of the cow-boys to re-mount their horses, after a stay at "Mister Warren's," as we called the shack across the way; but when there was shooting, Momma always hurried out to shoo her little flock inside.

The saloon-keeper's family and older girl called Rose, who lived at the fort, were at first the only other children of Anglo-Saxon origin in town. My companion among the saloon-keeper's off-spring was a rather horrid small boy whom I called "Lonnie." Goodness knows what his name really was—"Lawrence," perhaps! One morning he whispered to me darkly, "Come wif me and I'll show you some-fin' that'll scare you."

"Oh, what?" I asked, intrigued by his mysterious manner.

"You jes come 'long and see."

Of course, I went, although my mother did not altogether approve of Lonnie, who led me to a dark-red pool near the saloon.

"Look!" said Lonnie, with unholy enjoyment, "That's blood! A feller was shot-bang! Like this—and deaded right here!"

I am afraid I disappointed Lonnie by not being half as

"scairt to death" at the time, as he urged me to be, yet that dark, sinister pool haunted me for years.

Although the men of the neighborhood were rough and uncouth, they had a strange respect for my mother, perhaps because she had the reputation, falsely acquired, of being a perfect shot. As there were constant threats of attacking Indians, the saloon-keeper, the two officers at the fort and Poppa had bought guns, to be used only in self-defense, for their wives. When the four women took their first lesson in the use of firearms, Momma took up her gun indifferently and shot at the bottle which had been set up on a fence as their mark. The shattered pieces of glass flew in all directions!

Poppa concealed his surprise at this remarkable accident and said with a proud laugh, "she does that every time! Ria, it's no use trying to teach YOU anything more about guns!"

"No, I guess not," said Momma, quick to understand his reasons for this whopper of a lie, "I'd better go home and get along with my mending."

That was the first and last shot she ever fired, but her reputation was assured.

One day we had dragged Momma from the house to see some little tad-poles which had appeared in a rain-barrel, and as we stood gazing at these phenomena, two cowboys on horseback dashed around and around the lot, firing their pistols in the air.

"Momma, why are those men acting up like that?" asked my sister Nancy.

"Oh, they are probably signaling to those wagons over there," Momma answered, and she waved her hand in a friendly gesture to the young men, who probably reminded her of some of her former pupils. It was not until some days later that she learned that the young riders were trying to frighten her, for they had heard tales of her great courage. It is true that she was very brave, but on that occasion she had not had the least idea that there had been any reason to be frightened.

"I miss going to church more than anything else," she told Poppa one day, "I'm going to start a Sunday school."

"You can at least try to have one," Poppa answered sceptically.

It seemed that the captain at the fort was delighted with the idea of a Sunday School in Deming, and gave Momma all sorts of impractical advice about running one, and the railroad company put another one-roomed house at her disposal. (To do that company justice, they were constructing a row of comfortable, five-roomed houses for their employees, and we moved into one of these later; but the earlier days are the ones I recall most clearly.)

Momma faithfully taught her little group of seven pupils every Sunday. There were three of her own children, three of the saloon-keeper's and Rose-of-the-Fort. The younger cowboys also were earnestly invited to attend, but although each answered sheepishly, "Yes, Ma'am. Thank you, Ma'am. Maybe I'll show up," none of them ever did.

One very warm Sunday morning, a notoriously wicked cowboy rode into town. He was a picturesque and handsome rascal, and although our little legs seemed to turn to jelly with fright when we looked at him, we little girls could hardly be dragged away from the door from which we watched him, fascinated, as he swaggered at the bar across the way.

"You'd better give up your Sunday School for today, Ria," Poppa advised, when he saw Momma making her preparations for the service, "Shooting Jack is in town, and one never knows what outrageous thing he'll do next."

"Well, this ONE doesn't care," retorted Momma, as she braided Nancy's yellow locks, while Lula washed my face with a vigor that was painful. "I'm certainly not going to close my Sunday School just because a smart-alecky boy is in town. He should have been spanked years ago. There, Nannie! Put on your white dress, and help Mary with hers."

"Why don't you leave their hair loose?" How often I heard Poppa ask that! "They'd look a lot prettier that way!"

"Too hot," returned Momma, briefly, "Besides, I want my daughters to look clean and good, rather than pretty."

She was always saying that, but I noticed that she looked pleased whenever Lula's beautiful dark eyes or Nannie's rose-petal cheeks were praised!

"Seems to me that they could look clean and good AND pretty," Poppa said mildly. "But about Shooting Jack—maybe he has been spanked too much! I hear he comes from one of the oldest New England families, and you know how strict they are—some of them, anyway. Call off Sunday School today, like a good girl."

"Indeed, I shan't! Not unless you absolutely forbid me to have it."

But Poppa never absolutely forbade anything any of us wanted to do, as Momma very well knew.

Over in the saloon, Shooting Jack stopped pouring whiskey down his throat long enough to ask, "Where are those young 'uns going with that tall white squaw?"

"That's Mrs. Blake, the station agent's wife," answered Mr. Warren, the saloon-keeper, who was his own bar-tender.

"She's a good-looking girl, all right. Having a picnic, I suppose?"

"No-o." Mr. Warren was very apologetic. "Mrs. Blake is religious, and we kind of indulge her. You know how sot women folks can be. She has a Sunday school in that little house over there."

"A Sunday school," Shooting Jack shouted, and then he gave a succession of frightful oaths. "She's spoiling Dem-ing!," he declared. "I came south to get rid of churches and colleges and all that nonsense. She'll be starting an annex to Harvard next! Why do you boys stand such an outrage?"

"Look here, Jack," said one of the men present, "Mis' Blake aint the sort of snivelin' white-livered critters you're thinking of. She's a mighty good sort. Tied up my hand when it got hurt in a shooting scrape and talked to me purty and jolly while she done it."

"I suppose she got in some good advice about mending your evil ways," remarked Shooting Jack bitterly.

"Wal, she did some of that, too," Momma's defender had to admit.

"You see! She's spoiling Deming! I'm going to that Sunday school and frighten that dame so that she'll never try again to plaster this town with prayers and hymn-books."

"Better stay here, Jack. The boys are all set for a game of cards," Mr. Warren said, trying to speak casually.

Jack laughed.

"Your own brats are over there, eh? You needn't worry," he answered, "I never have hurt a child even when I've been twice as drunk as I am now, and I never shall."

"I'll bet you five dollars you can't scare Mrs. Blake," said one of the cowboys, suddenly.

"And I'll bet you ten!" cried another.

"Taken! And much obliged to both of you for offering me easy money!"

The assembled cowboys watched Jack swagger away. The Sunday school could be plainly seen from the saloon in that scantily settled place. I like to believe that they were standing ready to help Momma, in case of need.

"She's putting the young 'uns out of the back window!" exclaimed one, "But she herself aint leaving."

"Now she's at the door, a'talking mighty polite to Shooting!," another reported. "She don't look a mite scairt. Well, of all the—things! He's going in! Reckon he's drunker than we thought."

There was nearly half an hour of waiting. The cowboys moved restlessly about, but they all kept their eyes on the little Sunday-school shack. At last, to their astonishment, they saw Momma emerge, calm and smiling, followed by a somewhat unsteady Shooting Jack. The couple walked to our house which my mother entered and came out carrying her clothes line. Then, to the intense delight and merriment of the observers, they watched their anti-Sunday-school com-

rade give Momma a long and earnest lesson in the art of throwing a lasso.

What had happened was that Momma had glanced out of the open door in time to see the cowboy leave the saloon. She noticed that all the cowboys were crowding together and looking her way, so she said, quietly, to us children: "It's too hot to have Sunday school, so I'm going to send you home. And I'm going to have you all climb out of the back window to fool the cowboys. You run home the back way, too. Won't it be fun? They'll think we are all in here, having Sunday-school!"

Small children love novelties, and if she had told us that it would be fun to walk home backwards, we would have accepted the idea with equal enthusiasm. We were delighted to be sent home by way of the window! When she had seen us off, Momma went to the door, just in time to meet the belligerent cowboy on the threshold.

"Oh, I'm so sorry!" she cried, "You're the very first rancher who has come to my Sunday-school, and it's just over! We only had a short prayer and a hymn, and then I sent the children home, because it's really too hot later for them to be out. But I'm very glad to see you. Do come in and sit down. I've been wanting for ages to know you!"

The young man was so astonished by the cordial sincerity of this greeting that he actually went in and sat down. Momma seated herself, too, and went on cozily, "I do wish that Mr. Blake could be a cowboy like you! He's very delicate, you know, and an out-door life is just what he needs. But I'm afraid he'd never be the strong man you are!"

She gave him a glance of such open admiration that Jack turned scarlet and muttered, "Oh, I'm not so much." Then, remembering his bets, he said, with a terrible scowl, "Don't you know that I'm the damnest toughest man in all the Southwest?"

"Yes, I've heard that!" she laughed. "My goodness! You must be dreadful if half the stories about you are true! But I've heard, too, that you are really quite an authority on

cattle, and I wish you'd give me some advice about our cow."

"About your cow, Ma'am?"

"Yes; she's the meanest, crankiest creature I ever saw! She has to have her hind legs and her head tied before we can milk her; and neither my husband nor I can throw a lasso. Mr. Warren comes over to help us, but we hate to bother him. He's so busy!"

"Yes, the boys certainly do keep him busy, pouring drinks," Jack agreed, and he was soon laughing heartily over Momma's spirited account of their various experiences with the fractious cow.

"He's just a boy, a badly-brought-up, misunderstood boy," Momma told Poppa later. She had always been a defender of what is now called "the problem child," and had been a wonderfully successful teacher and friend of all kinds of young people.

"There's nothing to lassoing, really," said Jack. "I could teach you in an hour."

"Oh, could you?" cried Momma, and I know how her blue eyes must have shone. "Could you teach me now?"

"Of course, if you've got a rope handy!"

"Oh, I can get one! Come along!"

We astonished little sisters watched from the shade of the rough porch Poppa had constructed in his free hours. It was absorbingly interesting to see Momma take her lesson in lassoing. Our pet donkey watched, too, from a shady spot near us, and even the cow stuck her head out of her shed and seemed to smile in derision. Little by little, we three small girls approached the instructor and his pupil. Lula, because she was very old—eight and a half—kept tight hold of the perspiring little hands of her younger sisters. As Momma's sunbonnet, which she had snatched up with the rope, had ample sides, she did not at first notice her audience.

It was not long before she could use the rope, and she had triumphantly lassoed a small mesquite tree, when Poppa appeared on the scene. He stood petrified by the sight. I have often heard him tell the tale, to tease Momma.



"I was so hungry that day," he said, "that all the way home from the station, I thought of the good Sunday dinner Ria had promised me; and when I got there, I found no wife, no children, and no dinner!"

"Served you right for working on Sunday," one of the hearers might remark here.

"Well, you know trains don't stop running on Sunday! As I was about to remark when I was interrupted, (as the Autocrat said) after looking around a bit, I found my small daughters and their undersized pet donkey standing in a row, out in the lot, watching the remarkable performance of my wife. There was Ria, laughing triumphantly because she had just lassoed a poor, innocent mesquite, while that handsome brute of a Shooting Jack clapped his hands and gave war whoops. By that time, he was leaning against the shed, having been overtaken by the number of whiskeys he had downed earlier in the day. At the saloon, men were craning their necks to see the circus, and they were yelling and applauding, too."

When Momma saw Poppa, she exclaimed, "My Goodness! I must see about dinner. Won't you stay and have a bite with with us, Mr. Jack?"

"No, ma'am, I must get along. If you want any help with your cow, Mr. Blake, just send for me!"

"Thank you, sir," said Poppa, gravely.

"Thank you," echoed Momma, and added, quickly, "Come again to see us."

"Maybe I shall, Ma'am. Thank you."

"If you aren't—" began Poppa, as Shooting Jack walked away, with the solemn dignity of an intoxicated man.

"Well, what IS Momma?" demanded Lula, when our father paused.

"She is Momma, and there's none in the world like her!"

Poppa, of course, was told how Shooting Jack was greeted in the saloon by shouts of derision.

"Yes, laugh, you . . . hyenas!" he said, "Here are your filthy fifteen dollars, you two. I'll tell you all, right here, that

if any one of you ever so much as gives a mean look at that woman or her young 'uns, he'll have me to reckon with!"

Perhaps that threat made our life easier in that almost entirely masculine community. I remember alarms about the Indians being on the war path, although they never actually raided the town while we were there, but I think we never had any trouble caused by a white man.

Shooting Jack did not again visit our Sunday school, which soon grew to a respectable size, with the arrival of other families. After a while, he went to work on a somewhat distant ranch, and no longer indulged in his favorite sport of smashing whiskey bottles—which must have been a relief to Lonnie's father.

Months later, when the comfortable railroad houses had been completed and we were living in one, Momma strolled down to the station to walk home with Poppa.

My father looked through the ticket window to say, "Ria, you're just in time to say goodbye to your favorite Sunday school pupil."

"Do you Mean Shooting Jack?" she asked.

"That's the very one. He has shot once too often, and he's in the waiting room with two guards. You'll find him handcuffed."

"Murder?" gasped Momma.

"Yes, murder. It's his third or fourth, they reckon!"

Momma went into the waiting room, where Shooting Jack was sitting with his handsome young head held high and looking proudly about him, in spite of his manacled hands.

No doubt, in her staunchly Presbyterian mind she had hastily prepared something religious to say to him, but when he smiled at her, and greeted her with, "Well, Mrs. Blake, they've got me at last, you see," her heart melted.

"I'm sorry, Jack," she said, and kissed him on the forehead.

"Why, thank you, Ma'am. Goodbye Ma'am. Say hello to the little girls for me."

# THE SHEEP INDUSTRY IN ARIZONA, 1905-1906

*Edited by* FRANK D. REEVE

*The "Old Observer" in Arizona\**

IT WAS on the morning of December 20, 1905, later than 5 a.m., that we dropped into the heart of the Mojave desert, at Daggett,<sup>1</sup> Cal., having come over the San Pedro,<sup>2</sup> which, without exception, is the most cheerless of all western routes, being utterly devoid of scenic attractions and possessing not a single attribute which may reconcile a traveler to the inconveniences in respect to delay to which at least half the way from Salt Lake he is subjected. We were a day and two nights reaching this point.

One finds, at this hour, the single tavern enveloped in darkness, and must wait an hour at least before he can secure a bed in which to sleep away for three or four hours the recollection of the siege through which he passed.

The desert here at Daggett is walled in by the Odd mountains at the south, while at the north stretches the Calico range,<sup>3</sup> beyond which is Death valley.

Through this desert tract, visible at intervals (otherwise pursuing its subterranean way), courses the Mojave river, whose sources are in the San Bernardino mountains, 80 miles

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\* (From our Traveling Staff Correspondent) *The American Shepherd's Bulletin*, vol. 11, no. 1, January, 1906. [See NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW, vol. 38, no. 3 (1963). F.D.R.]

1. Daggett, California, is a railroad station of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway on the Mojave desert between Needles and Barstow. In early days it was a shipping point for borax hauled in wagons from mines in Death Valley. C. A. Higgins, *New Guide to the Pacific Coast, Santa Fé Route*, p. 200. Rand, McNally & Company, Chicago and New York, 1894.

2. The San Pedro, Los Angeles & Salt Lake Railway was constructed by the E. H. Harriman interests and Senator Wm. A. Clark of Montana under an agreement signed July 9, 1902. George Kennan, *E. H. Harriman*, I:346. Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1922. 2 vols.

3. Calico Range lies about twelve miles northeast of Daggett, California. Camp Borate was located in this range and twenty-mule teams hauled the borax to Daggett until a narrow guage railroad was completed in 1898. Harold O. Weight, *Twenty Mule Team Days in Death Valley*. The Calico Press, Twentynine Palms, Calif., 1955.

southwest of Daggett. The town of San Bernardino is southwest of the mountains.

This stream runs southeast from its canyon for 40 miles to its first sink at Victor or Oro Grande. Thence it proceeds to Barstow. For a dozen miles 'tis invisible. Thenceforth for a mile it meanders through the sands, its waters being exposed to the sunlight, to again disappear for four miles, when in close proximity to the channel a lakelet appears which is denominated the "Fish pond."

Here the main channel is tapped, and the first water taken out supplies the big ranch of Judge Van Dyke,<sup>4</sup> which yields quantities of alfalfa and vegetables.

Nine miles below Daggett the water from the canal is hoisted by a Chinese pump for four ranches, viz., those of Jack La Vierge, E. T. Hillis, T. Williams, E. W. Myers and Thos. Williams—the latter of Otis, Cal.

In the stretch of 30 miles northeast of Daggett are three or four miles of arable, cultivable land.

The desert, therefore, from the canyon of the Mojave to Needles, the eastern end of the Waste,<sup>5</sup> is quite 250 miles in extent.

There are several oases in Death valley, which, of course, afford homes and sustenance for men and beasts.

In the territory around Daggett are extensive borate<sup>6</sup> deposits. The principal mines here have railroads leading down to connect with the Santa Fe. (These Spanish appellations are everywhere retained, although the average English-speaking person fails to grasp their significance or to appreciate the emotional faith that moved the early Latin fathers to bestow them. "Santa Fe," for example, signifies "Holy Faith.")

Perhaps the largest borax mine is nine miles north of Daggett.

The altitude of Daggett is 1,080 feet. From Daggett east

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4. The Van Dyke ranch at Daggett, Calif., is mentioned in *Calico Print*, VII, No. 8, p. 3.

5. The term Waste apparently refers to the Desert.

6. Weight, *op. cit.*

to Needles, 150 miles or thereabout, the land gradually but essentially falls off, so that the elevation of the station (Needles) is but 480 feet. Thence to Kingman, on the Little American desert, 150 miles, there is but a slight descent. The altitude of the latter place is 461 feet.

Within 15 miles of Kingman, southeast, Mr. Frost is running Angoras. Some account of his enterprise will be given in a separate chapter.

FROM KINGMAN TO SELIGMAN the route lies through a region now covered with a thin coat of snow—a desert plain o’ergrown with cactus and large bunches of yucca. The plain is crossed by rugged hills, also o’ergrown with cacti ranging from little shrubs to small trees, their limbs flecked with snow, giving them a coral-like appearance.

These hills are hoary; their frosted polls are wreathed with scattering junipers, mesquite and chenise. The mesquites here are shrubs eight or ten feet high with a foliage resembling that of the yew tree (evergreen); quite graceful they are and would make a magnificent hedge. They bear beans in pods comparable to those of the locust. These are edible for stock, and for cattle and hogs are fattening; sheep are seldom ranging where they can get them in season. Farther south the mesquite is a tree, often 30 feet high. In some parts this is about the only wood of the region.

The conical or rounded hillocks are of granite formation, which fact is attested by the masses of huge boulders of that rock at the bases of the hills—immense piles like big heaps of drift dropped from huge receptacles held by giant arms.

But the mesas which abut upon the plain and stretch back to the mountains, as shown by the exposed rimrock and the detached blocks of stone, are mal a pie,\* a volcanic rock, ancient lava.

The mountains beyond are likewise of this formation, and many an extinct crater may be discerned among the peaks of low and medium elevation.

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\* Sp., “Bad to the foot,” “bad land.”

The rimrock is broken by "rincons"—coves which penetrate into the mesas.

A dry river cuts through the desert and there are innumerable "washes" enlarging year by year—the beginnings of canyons.

The whole region—plain, hills and mesas—is covered with

GRAMMA GRASS. 'Tis, in fact, a gramma country. This feed is found everywhere—in the open and among the cacti, chenise and mesquite, and the sage brush growth on the higher hillsides and mesas. It goes without saying that this is

A GREAT GRAZING REGION, though a desert and springless—there are no natural water holes. But the stock men have provided, at great expense, back toward the mesas, storage basins—dams—to save and hold the surface water.

"Dam sites" have been filed upon tracts of 40 or more acres. No one has been allowed to locate at a distance of less than five miles of another, and usually the dam will be quite that distance from the mesa; it would ordinarily be impracticable to establish the dam nearer, because of the danger of washouts in times of floods or excessive flow from the higher uplands.

Some parties—sheep and cattle men—have 25 to 30 thousand dollars invested in such water property. These claims are isolated, private holdings in the midst of thousands of acres of government land.

The western limit of sheep ranging is Seligman, and much that has been said in regard to provision for water, so far as this class of stock is concerned, applies to the region north of Seligman, Ash Fork, Williams, Flagstaff and Oliver.<sup>7</sup>

The sheep here as a rule are fine medium Merino (crossed at intervals with Shrops and other species of the Downs

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7. "Just about the time Gila City went into eclipse [1862], placer mines were discovered at La Paz, Olive City, and Ehrenberg on the Colorado above Yuma, and for a time this region became a mecca of gold hunters." F. C. Lockwood, "Early Mines and Mining in Arizona," University of Arizona, *General Bulletin* No. 5, p. 20 (1940). Geo. H. Kelly, *Legislative History: Arizona 1864-1912*, p. 16.

order). They produce a fine, nice fleece, of variable shrinkage, according to the character of the season preceding shearing—55 per cent to 68 per cent. This sold in 1905 at 17c. @ 22c. per pound.

The earliest "grass" lambs (ready for market in July) come from Arizona. At this time of year many of the flocks are down south, in the neighborhood of Phoenix, yet not a few are in the hills north of the Santa Fe road, within 15 or 20 miles of the line. Details in regard to size of flocks and methods of handling them will be given later, in the course of interviews with sheep men. At

HUALAPAI,<sup>8</sup> near Hackberry, on the road to Seligman, on the Indian reservation, is the agency—a group of substantial, even elegant, brick buildings. The schoolhouse, especially, is a noble structure, massive in its proportions, artistic in design and construction.

Mention of this building awakens a remembrance of the trip to Seligman.

The train halted at Hackberry. Our coach contained a number of Arizonians who were bound to points farther east to spend Christmas. Among these was a lady who looked through the window across a vacant strip of land to a little, long low wooden shack on the village street with a flagstaff

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8. Camp Hualpai was established in 1869 on Mojave Creek 1½ miles southeast of Aztec Pass and forty-five miles northwest of Prescott, Arizona, according to L. B. Bloom, ed., "Bourke on the Southwest," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, IX:164 (1934).

A postoffice operated from January 13, 1873, to November 18, 1880. D. T. Foster was the first postmaster. The name was changed to Charmindale on January 30, 1879. Will C. Barnes, *Arizona Place Names*. Revised and enlarged by Byrd H. Granger. The University of Arizona Press, Tucson, 1960. John and Lillian Theobald, *Arizona Territory Post Offices & Postmasters*. Arizona Historical Foundation, Phoenix, 1961.

Sheldon H. Dike, *The Territorial Post Offices of Arizona*. Dr. S. H. Dike, Albuquerque, N. M., 1958.

The name of the Camp was changed to Juniper in 1883. A postoffice was established February 2 with Charles A. Behm as postmaster and continued until July 15, 1910. Barnes, *Ariz. Place Names*, Dike, *Territory Postoffices*, and Theobald, *Postoffices & Postmasters*.

The Hualapai Indian Reservation was established January 4, 1883, ranging northward from Juniper. A postoffice was established November 22, 1882, and discontinued April 2, 1883, when the name was changed from "Wualapai" to Juniper. Headquarters for the Indian agency were established at Peach Springs. Barnes, *Ariz. Place Names*.

When the Atlantic & Pacific Railroad was extended westward in the 1880's, the station was Peach Springs, three miles southwest of Peach Tree Springs. A postoffice was established July 12, 1887, with Jacob Choenour as postmaster. Sources cited above.

surmounting the front gable, and remarked to her husband: "That's where I used to go to school in my girlhood."

"Yes," said an elderly man, a resident, who had dropped in, while the car was waiting, to shake hands with the lady, "I have \$35 in the schoolhouse. The Indian schoolhouse cost \$65,000. They have a school nine months in the year; our children six months or thereabouts. That's the difference between the Indians and us. I wish I was an Indian."

There were six or eight inches of snow at

SELIGMAN, and before sunrise and after sunset it was extremely cold, as it seemed to me, though I was assured that the frost was not so keen as at Williams or Flagstaff; at the latter place the temperature was 15 degrees below zero. Still a fire feels good in any place where, otherwise, the water freezes in one's bedroom.

But hardly can too much be said in regard to the healthfulness of the climate of northern Arizona, all along the Santa Fe road from Kingman to Oliver.

One becomes pleurably conscious of its salubrity after a day's sojourn.

The air is dry, savory to the nostrils and exhilarating. There appears here to be complete freedom from catarrh or pulmonary affection, or any other physical ills which are supposed to result from an unfavorable climate.

My hostess here is a Texan who knows how to make corn bread which has an enticing relish.

The Santa Fe has here a mammoth hotel<sup>9</sup> (under the famous Harvey management) and a reading room for its employes. This is a beneficent institution, one by which it is to be hoped the "hands" profit. This is an example of the wholesome and wise interest which this corporation takes in the welfare of its people.

Moreover, it may be here remarked that it is the testimony of all who are competent to give evidence, that there is no other railroad company that does better in all ways for its patrons.

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9. The Havasu Hotel.



The reading room is in charge of a salaried employe (retired from active service on the road), who sees to it that decorum is maintained and that everything is done decently and in order.

Here may be found newspapers from all parts of the United States. Here is a well-selected library; a bathroom (a slight fee is attached); a card and pool table. The play is for pastime only. Nothing else is allowed. All these things are provided in order to keep employes, if possible, from the "joints," which are plentiful in all railroad towns. 'Tis the wise policy of wholesome "substitution" vs. wholesale "prohibition."

At Seligman I stumbled upon an amateur ornithologist and zoologist. He had mocking birds, canaries and linnets in cages. A series of deer's heads (and shoulders) bristling with magnificent antlers, and heads of mountain sheep, with formidable downward tending horns, adorned the walls of one of his rooms. These were trophies of the hunt.

But the most pronounced specimen of "animate nature" in his collection was a live gray wolf which was never born.

Little more than a year ago, a gray she-wolf was trapped in the Eskagar<sup>10</sup> mountains. The captor killed and skinned the brute, dissected the carcass, finding in her body eight live pups. These he carefully removed and wrapped in his jumper.

However, seven of these died. The eighth, a lusty fellow, was purchased by his present owner for \$27 or \$28, and reared by him.

This chap is now as large as a two-year-old mastiff and is possessed of the maximum malignancy which characterizes his kind. He is chained in the back yard.

He incessantly paces about, describing an arc, of which his ten-foot chain is the radius.

His broad, moon-shaped face is always turned toward you and he makes an occasional effort to snap his chain.

One may shake a staff at him without phasing him. He

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10. Eskagar Mountains. Location ?

ever exhibits an unabashed front, occasionally emitting a dismal howl.

Now and again Mr. —————'s shepherd dog, a vicious brute, will come through the gate and trot along the walk in the enclosure in which is his wolfship, particularly if he has scented a human being other than his master.

The dog pays no attention to the wolf, but the latter regards the domestic canine as though he

"Fain would make a ration  
Of his fat relation."

But even if he (the wolf) were loose

"He first must fight.  
And well the dog seems able  
To save from wolfish table  
His carcass, snug and tight."

Seligman is the headquarters of

MR. EDGAR T. SMITH, who has one of the largest sheep outfits in this territory.

Mr. Smith<sup>11</sup> came from Illinois, and early engaged in the cattle business, which pursuit he followed for years. He became actively interested in sheep husbandry in 1893.

His herd (he has eighteen to twenty odd thousand head of ewes) is at present fine medium Merinos. By next spring (1906) the lamb crop will be above half Rambouillet.

MR. ALBERT JONES, the able and highly efficient foreman of the concern, says of this class of stock:

"They are hardier than any other kind of Merinos, and the high-grade lambs bring a better price than the coarse-wooled stock.

"Five or six years ago we procured 'blackface' rams—120

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11. Edgar T. Smith of Seligman, Arizona, was preeminent in raising Rambouillet rams. The initial flock of ewes was purchased from J. Q. Adamson, pioneer breeder of Seligman. Smith, who died in 1908, was credited with having made a fortune in ten years. Haskett, "History of the Sheep Industry in Arizona." *Arizona Historical Review*, vol. 7, no. 3, pp. 35f (July 1936). Edward Norris Wentworth, *America's Sheep Trails: History—Personalities*, p. 254. The Iowa State College Press, Ames, Iowa, 1948.

head of high-grade Shrops—and used them two years, selling the lambs. I can tell you that on marketing our lambs we had a bigger percentage of 'blackface' left than of Merinos.

"One fall we picked six lambs to butcher (fat ones), four Merinos and two Shrops; the Merinos outweighed the Shrops by five pounds per head (dressed)."

LAMBING occurs from February till May. One band was lambed February 25, right on the range, 100 miles south of Seligman—Congress Junction<sup>12</sup>—where at that date the green feed was six inches high.

The lambs were arriving from that time to the last of March. The crop in the fall amounted to 75 per cent of the ewes bred.

The sheep are graded in the flock—4,200 of the best ewes are saved, from which to breed bucks.

The offspring of another band of 1,600 are marketed. In the following year the ewes themselves are muttoned. Mr. Smith does not figure to breed ewes after they are six years old.

The male lambs are carefully culled when they are yearlings.

BRIEF HISTORY OF ENTERPRISE. Two or three years ago he procured 50 high-grade Rambouillet bucks and 1,500 ewes from the Adamson outfit—good stock, which very distinctly showed the Rambouillet class.

These ewes are served by pure-blood Rambouillet rams, which have been obtained from Ohio, Michigan, Oregon and California. For example: Two from Dwight Lincoln, Ohio; two from Wyckoff, Mich.; two from Burnham Bros.; one from Max Chapman; two more from Wyckoff; five from the Baldwin Sheep & Land Co.; two more from Burnham Bros.; one from J. H. Glide, Cal.; two from R. A. Jackson, Wash. (one of these sheared 22 pounds when a yearling), and finally two more from Ohio.

12. "Another mineral line was the Congress Gold Mine Railroad, built by local mine owners in 1896 over the 3 miles from Congress Jct. on the SFP & P to Congress." William S. Greever, "Railway Development in the Southwest," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, 32:176 (April 1957). The Junction lies between Wickenburg and Prescott, Arizona.

Usually the rams are worked off before the 10th of November, but in 1905 they were all sold in October.

The "fine band" will shear, on the average, 11 pounds per head; the others clip  $8\frac{3}{4}$  pounds. The wool has always paid the expense of running the sheep, and in the past two years there has been a margin of profit on the staple.

"This year," remarked Mr. J., "we will shear before lambing; all except two thousand ewes have been bred to lamb April 20. Fifteen thousand head of this outfit will be shorn at Seligman (by hand)."

Average lambs (Feb.) shipped from this county (Yavapai) weigh 67 pounds at Kansas City in July.

LOSS OF SHEEP. Outside of lambing, loss of sheep, according to this gentleman, does not exceed 5 per cent, exclusive of the mutton killed for the sustenance of employees.

Of the lambs perhaps 10 per cent are lost between marking and weaning. Among the causes are coyotes and cats, blackbag among the ewes, poison weeds, particularly larkspur, bloat and lightening.

EMPLOYEES' WAGES AND LIVING. Herders are paid from \$30 @ \$35 per month and found. These are mainly Mexicans and French Basque, and both classes are about universally commended as exceedingly reliable and efficient. Exclusive of the mutton consumed, it is claimed that along the Santa Fe line, or north of it, a herder's "keep" costs no more than six or seven dollars per month. He is generally furnished no "canned stuff," but a sufficiency of potatoes, bacon, flour, oatmeal, sugar and coffee, with the usual condiments.

These figures, as compared with those ruling for similar expenses in the Northwest, are startling, and I must say that farther south I found the estimated "living expense" of employees to be at least 100 per cent greater; some well-known operators who were then at Phoenix declared that their herders' "keep" stood them quite \$15 per month per man.

The large outfits have

CAMP RUSTLERS. These are foremen, among whose duties is to look after the distribution and use of the camp supplies, particularly the "victuals." One camp rustler tends to three bands of sheep (about 6,000 head). In this country outfits comprise from two to 12 bands.\*

Of course, the rustler has the general supervision (under the manager) of the herders. He usually receives \$50 per month and his board.

TAXES seem to be levied and collected here with a tacit understanding that as much of a rate payer's annual income may be taken as may be needed for current county expenses, leaving the residue with him till called for.

As for sheep, one says: "The assessors fix the numbers to suit themselves."

The general tax rate in several counties in which sheep run in this territory in 1905 was \$40 on \$1,000 valuation.

WOOL TRANSPORTATION COST. The rate upon wool from points here to Boston is practically the rate to Los Angeles plus the rate from that place to Boston.<sup>13</sup> From Seligman to the Atlantic seaboard the "tariff" three years ago was \$2.38 per hundredweight.

NO SCAB. Sheep are practically clean throughout the territory. They are regularly dipped at stated times, lime and sulphur, for the most part, being employed.

The surrounding topography and the prevalent climate of the region of

ASH FORKS, 28 miles east of Seligman, at an altitude of 5,100 feet, where, by the kind invitation of Mr. and Mrs. Kisse, with whom I roomed while at that town, I enjoyed an old-fashioned Christmas dinner, do not essentially differ from those in the midst of which the former town is located.

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\* My impression is that the Smith outfit has eleven.

13. The long and short haul discriminatory railroad rate was forbidden in the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887 unless approved by the Interstate Commerce Commission. By interpretation of the law, the power of the ICC over rate making was practically useless until the Act was amended in 1910 whereby the primary decision for rates lay with the Commission rather than the carrier. Joseph Henry Beale and Bruce Wyman, *Railroad Rate Regulation*, 2nd ed., pp. 780ff. New York, 1915.

The winter climate here cannot be too highly appreciated. Although the mornings and evenings (before sunrise and after sunset) are healthfully keen, yet for at least three hours before and after midday, the air is delightfully pure, dry and genial. One's head is clear. One has, at least as an animal, a definite and pronounced sense of the joy of living.

Winter, here, includes the period from December to March inclusive.

The spring and fall seasons are characterized, by those who should be able to speak authoritatively, as "nice," while they aver that one may sleep comfortably in blankets during the complete circuit of summer nights.

Ash Fork is a busy railroad town, at the junction of the main line of the Santa Fe and the branch<sup>14</sup> which extends via Prescott to Phoenix, about two hundred miles south.

There must be a large force of railroad employes at this place, judging by the perpetual bustle in the matters of switching, making up trains, coaling, watering, loading and unloading, etc. The express, freight and passenger traffic, east, west and south from this point must be immense.

Here is one of the series of Harvey restaurants and curio shops which one finds at Kingman, Seligman, Williams and I know not where else along this line.

Here, too, one may acquire about as clear an idea of some of the traditional characteristics of the "wild and wooly West" as at almost any place in the intermountain region. Rock Springs does not in this respect surpass the Arizona town, although the Wyoming city may have more saloons to the square mile.

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14. The Prescott and Arizona Central Railroad was organized in July, 1885, and ran the first train from Seligman (Prescott Junction) to Prescott January 2, 1887. It was driven out of business by the Santa Fe, Prescott and Phoenix Railway, a subsidiary of the A & P RR. Construction was started at Ash Fork August, 1892; the line entered Prescott April 24, 1893, and Phoenix in March of 1895. "The line was so winding that the railroad quickly earned and still has [1957] the nickname of the 'Pea Vine'." N. K. Masten and associates organized the Maricopa and Phoenix Railroad Company to join Phoenix with the Southern Pacific at Maricopa Junction, thirty miles to the south. It was completed July 4, 1887. Greever, "Railway Development," NMHR, 32:170ff. Wyllys, Arizona, pp. 277f.

One morning in late December, 1905, a Mexican was found frozen to death beside the railroad track, and a day or two later a murderous duel occurred between a conductor and a negro passenger. The dispute which led to the shooting was said to have concerned a question of fare.

Both combatants were seriously wounded, the negro, it was thought, fatally. He claimed, it was reported, that his antagonist did the first shooting. I understood that the white man was taken to Los Angeles and the black man to Prescott.

A PATHETIC INCIDENT occurred Christmas forenoon. A young married woman, sobbing as though her heart would break, appeared upon the veranda of our place of temporary abode, and implored some one to seek for her husband, who, she asserted, had been enticed away from home to some saloon while she was preparing his Christmas dinner and had, she feared, become intoxicated.

"He's not used to drinking," frantically exclaimed the poor creature, "and, oh, if he be only brought back to me I will be gentle with him!"

She was sadly hysterical and perhaps some of her ejaculations and demonstrations slightly amused the thoughtless. But there were at least two exceptions among the lookers-on whose hearts were moved with profound pity. One was our excellent host, who immediately set out to search for the errant and erring husband and who ascertained that the latter had been escorted home.

The other was a young matron, a guest of our host's establishment, who bestowed a wealth of sisterly sympathy upon the unhappy wife, wiped away her tears, led her home, and remained with her an hour to give comfort and consolation.

On the following day husband and wife were seen quietly walking together along one of the village ways. It is to be hoped that the Christmas day's experience will be a salutary lesson to the young man.

It may be supposed that there are in the West, as in the East, some cases of moderate indulgence in stimulants; but

it seems, from what one observes in many places, both along and away from railroad lines, that for the most part the average man in the West either imbibes intoxicants not at all, or else "drinks deep."

I may as well at the juncture as at any other remark that among the hundreds of people with whom I have either conversed or to whose voices I have listened, since I entered the territory, I have not yet been able to discover an individual who is not emphatically and uncompromisingly opposed to joint statehood.<sup>15</sup>

I have yet to see a territorial newspaper which does not condemn in unmeasured terms, as a vicious injustice to the people of Arizona, the proposed partisan plan of "jamming" through Congress a programme for the union of the two territories, neither of which really desires such arrangement.

That Arizona is a unit in her opposition to the proposed unjust measure was signally demonstrated on Saturday afternoon, Dec. 30, 1905, at the close of the highly successful territorial fair at Phoenix, the capital, when 98 per cent of the thousands present enthusiastically signed a protest against jointure.

But western papers generally, so far as I have observed, support the protest which the territorial press is so vigorously uttering. The Salt Lake "Herald," in an editorial in a late December, 1905, issue, significantly remarks:

"To say that Arizona must sacrifice its identity and be joined with New Mexico, in order to secure statehood, is to say that justice and fairness have nothing to do with a people's claim to statehood; that party policy and political expediency only shall decide whether or not a territory may have what, in justice, it has a right to demand.

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15. Joint statehood for Arizona and New Mexico in 1906 was opposed in Arizona by 16,265 votes vs. 3,141 and favored in New Mexico by 26,195 vs. 14,735 votes. Rufus Kay Wyllys, *Arizona: The History of a Frontier State*, p. 302. Hobson & Herr, Phoenix, Arizona, 1950. Robert W. Larson, "Statehood for New Mexico, 1882-1912," p. 229. Ph. D. dissertation, 1961, University of New Mexico. A summary is published in the NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW, 37:161-200 (July, 1962).



"In their demand that they be given independent statehood or be permitted to retain their territorial form of government, the people of Arizona are taking the stand every fair-minded, independent American would, under the circumstances."

The sheepmen, who comprise a large and justly valued portion of the Arizonians, are as determined in their opposition to jointure as their compatriots in other fields of effort. Indeed, I think I must have been led to discuss the subject at this particular moment by "association of ideas," having in mind the fact that the first member of this fraternity (Arizona Wool Growers)<sup>16</sup> whom I met at Ash Fork enunciated to me a cogent and convincing argument against the proposed measure which was, in effect, the dissimilarity of the respective collective population of each territory from that of the other, in regard to language, aspirations, and industrial pursuits; the unprecedentedly vast area of the proposed state and consequent great expense of state government and the impossibility of an equitable division of the burden of taxation between the two sections.

This gentleman was Mr. Howard,<sup>17</sup> president and manager of

THE HOWARD SHEEP Co., incorporated in 1893-1894. Of course he was the promoter of the present company, in which he is probably the one practical sheep man. He owns two-fifths of the capital stock.

Speaking of range conditions and incidents relative thereto, Mr. H. said:

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16. "Believing that their interests in many ways were mutual, sheepmen in Arizona met at Flagstaff on October 1, 1886, and organized the Arizona Sheep Breeders and Wool Growers Association. Membership . . . was voluntary. Regular meetings were held once a year. The purposes . . . were to promote the breeding and use of purebred rams, to arrange for the annual rodeo . . . for the purpose of going through each man's herd and removing the stray sheep and returning them to their respective owners, to agree on a uniform wage scale for herders and shearers, and to assist the industry generally on all matters of common interest." Haskett, *op. cit.*, p. 27. Wyllys, *op. cit.*, p. 253. P. P. Daggs was treasurer. Wentworth, *op. cit.*, p. 250. The first officers were: Hugh Campbell, Pres.; Halter J. Hill, Sec.; and P. P. Daggs, Treas. Wentworth, *op. cit.*, pp. 250, 252.

17. Charles E. Howard was a pioneer sheepman, Coconino County, post-1881. Haskett, *op. cit.*, pp. 29, 48.

"The region north of the Santa Fe line, where a large part of the stock is for a considerable portion of the year, is a rocky mal a pie country, only fit for grazing purposes. In recent years the feed of the kind which prevails here has been fairly good—gramma grass and various species of browse.

"AS TO WATER, there are no springs or wells; we therefore have to depend upon surface water for our stock. This has necessitated the expenditure of large sums by the stockmen for the acquisition of dam sites and the construction of storage basins and dams (we call them 'water holes').

"Precipitation varies in amount in a series of eight or ten years. For example, we may have two or three good years, with plenty of drink for the sheep; then two or three dry years. In seasons of extreme drought we have had to buy water from the railroad company.

"You of course understand that the range itself is public land.

"We have 23 to 24 thousand sheep in summer, after selling muttons, 15 thousand. We never run at any one time above 25 thousand.

"These were originally Merino. In 15 years we have crossed three times with Shrops. We aimed to increase the size without getting the wool too light. We are now breeding to Rambouillet rams obtained from Edgar T. Smith, of Seligman, in this territory.

"If we shear in April, the average weight of fleece will be seven pounds; if in June, the sheep shear eight to nine pounds."\*

LAMBING. "We have lambs in March, but usually the lambs commence to arrive about the 20th of April.\*\* The crop raised, year in and year out, will average 75 per cent of the ewes bred in each season.

"The April lambs, marketed from the first of September

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\* Their average weight of fleece, 1905, was 8¼ pounds. They received 18 cents per pound for their clip.

\*\* They lamb near Ash Fork.

to October, dress at Kansas City 32 pounds and upward, and bring \$2.50 @ \$3.

"Our losses, resulting from depredations of coyotes and cats, poison weeds and other causes, average 10 per cent per annum.

"It costs," says Mr. Howard, "75\*\*\* to 80 cents per head yearly to run our sheep. We do not go south in winter. In making this estimate I include every item of expense, my salary with the rest. We pay our help \$30 to \$50 per month and their board. You have got to figure on 12c. per pound in order that your wool may pay the expenses of running the sheep."

In Ash Fork I had the pleasure of meeting

MR. F. P. REED,<sup>18</sup> who is a native of the Pine Tree state, and was a student in the State Agricultural College at Orono on the Penobscot; in fact, I believe he is a graduate of that institution. This gentleman has been 16 or 18 years in the territory and since 1892 has been engaged in sheep husbandry.

"On parts of the range," says Mr. R., "there is not the grass which there used to be, because of overstocking." For this reason he thought the "reserve" a good thing, inasmuch as it tended to check this evil. A reasonable number of head on a given area causes no damage whatever to the range.

Mr. Reed's flock of fine medium Merinos summers on the range north of Ash Fork, within 30 miles of the town, and winters 30 miles southwest.

Shearing here is from February to June. Mr. R.'s average weight of fleece is eight pounds. His wool in 1905 sold at 17c. per pound.

The ewes are lambled in April. The lamb crop saved averages 75 per cent of the ewes bred. These weigh in the fall, when marketed, 65 pounds to 70 pounds; they dress 32 pounds to 35 pounds at the Missouri river markets.

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\*\*\* It costs those who move south in the winter (who are, I believe, the majority), very much more per head, as will be seen later.

18. F. P. Reid was a sheepman in Yavapai County post-1891. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

Mr. Reed estimates the loss of sheep from beasts of prey, from poisons, such as larkspur, milkweed, etc., and from loco (which scientists say contains no alkaloidal poison), accident, strays, etc., at quite 10 per cent per annum.

This gentleman fixes the minimum annual per capita cost of running sheep in this section at \$1. He says that exclusive of the mutton which they are allowed to kill it costs from \$10 to \$12 per month per man to feed the "help."

It is highly gratifying to announce not only that the most cordial relations obtain between the Arizona cattle and sheep men, but also that I have found no one who can remember when in the history of this territory the current "intente cordiale" was not.<sup>19</sup>

Before going south I wish to remark that on the part of the sheep men of Arizona there is a universal demand for the repeal or at least the revision of the

TWENTY-EGHT HOUR LAW.<sup>20</sup> The passage of the law requiring shippers of livestock, without discrimination as to the class of animals in transit, to unload, feed and water at the end of every 28 hours' run, appears to be an instance of erroneous legislation inspired by well-meaning humanitarians whose generous impulses have blinded them to the facts of the case, and who evidently imagine that all species of livestock have exactly the same creature wants, the same characteristics, the same habits of endurance, and can be handled in the same way.

There are plenty of excellent people possessed of more sensibility than sense, who in regard to animals conceive theories of treatment, in the consideration of which the pro-

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19. For a more lurid story of the harshness of the conflict between sheepmen and cattlemen see Charles Wayland Towne and Edward Norris Wentworth, *Shepherd's Empire*, ch. 8. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1945. For a touch of humor see Archer B. Gilfillan, *Sheep*, ch. 13. Little, Brown, and Company, Boston, 1929. The classic study of the Tewksbury—Graham feud in Pleasant Valley, Arizona is Earle R. Forrest, *Arizona's Dark and Bloody Ground*. The Caxton Printers, Caldwell, Idaho, 1950.

20. "Before 1875," a so-called 'Cruelty to Animals Act' covering rail transportation of livestock had been enacted by Congress. This required that animals in transit must be unloaded, watered, fed, and rested each twenty-eight hours." In 1906, thirty-six hours were permitted for the last lap to market on written authorization of the shipper. Wentworth, *Sheep Trails*, pp. 577f.

prietor, however humane he may be, counts for nothing. These people do not seem to be aware that self-interest alone is an ever-present incentive to the owner to tend his stock well and to put it upon the market in the best possible condition.

As far as sheep are concerned, wherever they are unloaded along the route of shipment, either the proprietor is present, or an efficient, approved agent who enjoys the owner's confidence.

Again, it should be understood that no law governing the shipment of livestock can be enacted that will justly apply, in all particulars, to all classes of stock. For example, in the instance under consideration, every one familiar with livestock transportation, it may be supposed, knows that sheep, in the nature of things, may be shipped considerably longer, without injury, than cattle may be.

There is a universal feeling among western shippers of sheep that the present law with reference to the transportation of this class of stock should be repealed or at least so amended that the previous custom of unloading at the end of a 36 hours' run shall be again in vogue.

Under present conditions great inconvenience, often hardship, is wrought to the shippers (who are generally the growers) without commensurate benefit to the animals, the buyers, or the consumers of mutton. On the contrary, the sheep are often in worse condition on their arrival at the place of destination than they would have been with longer intervals between times of watering and feeding because of their having been put off into the mud at some point at which accommodations were bad and at a time when they had little inclination to eat and none to drink.

A point

NOT TO BE OVERLOOKED in the course of the consideration of this subject, in justice to the shipper of sheep, is that the last unloading (on the way) should be as near as possible to the market—a desideratum impossible of realization under present conditions.

The arguments of the Arizona sheep men for the revision of the law, which any candid legislator, upon careful examination, will find to be valid, are:

1. It is 1,300 miles from Flagstaff, Arizona, to Kansas City. There are feeding corrals at intervals of every 400 miles. A 36 hours' run is not an unreasonable time, in the case of sheep.

Under the present arrangement you are liable to be left at a point at which it is impossible to unload and re-ship in the time allowed, thus causing delay, to the detriment of the stock.

2. The sheep, giving them a 36 hours' run before unloading, come to market in a much better condition, for under present conditions they are liable to be thrown off into the mud, which is more injurious to them than prolonged time in the car.

3. It is injurious to unload sheep in transit at less intervals than 36 hours. They do not eat and drink and are not benefited in this respect. The owner simply has to pay the expense of acting the farce.

*(To be Continued)*

## Book Reviews

*Jim Bridger.* By J. Cecil Alter. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962. Pp. xi, 358. Bibliog., illus., map, and index. \$5.95.

Few authors are invited to revise one of their books thirty-seven years after the original publication date; Mr. Alter was. Few men in their 80's can improve on what they did in the prime of their life; Mr. Alter has. In 1925 he published *James Bridger, Trapper, Frontiersman, Scout and Guide: A Historical Narrative*; a facsimile of it, with addenda, appeared in 1950; and now comes this revised, rewritten edition entitled *Jim Bridger*. The new version is 140 pages shorter than the original and this is all to the good. While a few thorough-going experts will still find the original useful for some of its details, the general public and almost all professional historians will prefer the 1962 book. In it Mr. Alter replaced quotations that were pages long with tightly-written, well-rounded condensations; eliminated a general account of the Mormon War in favor of telling just how the struggle affected Bridger; cut down on the details of other people's activities on the army expeditions he served as scout after the sale of Fort Bridger; and omitted the "tall tales" of what Bridger supposedly did but the evidence showed he actually didn't. Mr. Alter consulted the material which has been published since 1925, securing some different perspectives on his topic and in a few instances altering his conclusions in the light of new information. These two editions establish him as the authority on Bridger. His work is so well done, especially considering the scarcity of written evidence surviving about the frontiersman, that it is highly unlikely anybody will need to do the task again.

Bridger was the first white man to go over the continental divide at South Pass on what later became the Oregon-Mormon-California trail; was the first to taste the water of

Salt Lake; found a creek which downstream split into two forks emptying respectively into the Pacific and the Atlantic Oceans; was the only man every to run the Big Horn River rapids on a raft; was almost the first to describe the phenomena of Yellowstone Park; and selected the route of the Union Pacific Railroad through the mountains of Wyoming. He thoroughly understood the Indian mind, held friendships with important red leaders, was thrice a squaw-man, retained almost all the geography of the Rocky Mountains in his extraordinary memory, used exceptional skill in hunting, trapping and frontier warfare and had uncanny luck too. He was generous in his sharing of his knowledge with settlers, explorers, soldiers and railroad surveyors. It is good that Mr. Alter has recorded the life of this remarkable American so effectively.

University of Idaho

WILLIAM S. GREEVER

*Life in the Saddle.* By Frank Collinson. Edited and arranged by Mary Whatley Clarke. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963. Pp. xvi, 243. \$2.00.

Leaving England, a boy of seventeen, Frank Collinson landed at Galveston, Texas, in September, 1872 and plunged headlong into a lifetime of adventure. From Galveston, he traveled to the Noonan ranch near Castroville where two negro hands taught him the fundamentals of cowpunching, hunting and camping. Thereafter, Collinson branched out. As a drover, he went to the Red Cloud Agency with a Lytle herd, staying awhile to issue beef to the Sioux. Then, back in Texas, Collinson became a buffalo hunter, witnessing and aiding in the slaughter of the great herd, fighting Indians and visiting Fort Griffin when that brilliant little den of iniquity was at its brightest and the vigilantes were active.

Back with cattle, Collinson worked for John Chisum of Jinglebob fame and saw some of the trouble in Lincoln County. He drove trail herds north, establishing a new route,



he aided in establishing ranches on the Staked Plains, he mustanged for awhile and he hunted wolves. There followed a period when Collinson ranched for himself and, too, he was one of the first to enter and explore the Big Bend country.

Unusual as it is, there is no reason to doubt Collinson's story. Where the experience was his, he says so; if his information was second hand, he labels it as such. The whole book rings true and Collinson's accounts and reminiscences have been accepted by such experts as J. Frank Dobie and J. Evetts Haley.

Collinson's writing is restrained, so much so that the reader often wishes the man had let himself go and displayed some of the flavor and color he undoubtedly possessed. It may be that an editorial hand can be blamed for this lack for much of *Life in the Saddle* first appeared as articles in *Ranch Romances* and *The Cattleman*. Whatever the cause, the book would benefit if it contained more of the dramatic flare found in Abbot's *We Pointed Them North* and Andy Adam's *The Log of a Cowboy*.

As editor, Mary Whatley Clarke has acted more as a compiler and arranger. She furnishes neither footnotes nor bibliography believing, as she states in the introduction, that Collinson's running identification of well-known frontier characters was sufficient. However, as also stated in the introduction, Mrs. Clarke checked her material against other writings and did not find it wanting. The reviewer, too, made one brief check finding that Collinson's story of the killing of Bass Outlaw was entirely authenticated by Eugene Cunningham who gathered his material from other sources and told the tale in *Triggernometry*.

*Life in the Saddle* profits—as must any book concerning the Texas Panhandle—from the illustrations of Harold D. Bugbee. It is one of The Western Frontier Library series, issued by the University of Oklahoma Press, and it is attractively bound and printed.

Albuquerque, N. M.

BENNETT FOSTER

*Custer and the Great Controversy.* By Robert M. Utley. Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1962. Pp. 184. \$6.75

Here is a book that will delight all Custer buffs; though the author's evident and laudable striving for objectivity will possibly damn him in the camps of both the extreme Custer-philosophes and that of the rabid anti-Custer contingent. Mr. Utley, unlike so many writers on facets of Custer and Little Bighorn history, writes as an historian; not as a partisan. His analysis of how the Custer controversy began, was mushroomed and warped out of all proportion to its significance and known facts, and has since shown little evidence of subsiding, is clearly and deftly written. He does not attempt any final judgments as to Custer's culpability in the Little Bighorn tragedy, nor assess blame against Reno, Terry, and other major actors in the drama.

The section on the role played by the newspapers in stoking the controversial fires is very detailed and thoroughly presented; especially concerning General Terry's position in relation to his erratic subordinate, Custer. The "Legend of the Little Bighorn" chapter is very good in dealing with several Custer death myths, last survivor humbugs, and spurious Curley stories. The bibliographical survey is extremely well annotated, as to the significance and historical value of the publications the author discusses.

So many controversies and enigmas are associated with Little Bighorn history. During the five years that this reviewer served as Battlefield historian, he early decided to focus his efforts on ascertaining what was knowable, rather than on elements that must forever remain as multiple "X" factors in a complex equation without provable solution.

As the result of intensive field research, and the availability of more detailed statements by Trumpeter John Martin (Custer's last courier, sent back with a message to Captain Benteen), evidence now indicates that some part of Custer's immediate command did indeed approach very close to the east of the Little Bighorn River, down the course of Medicine

Tail Coulee to a point just across from the gigantic Indian encampment, in the opening phases of the Battle.

No, the last word is not in by a long shot on the Little Bighorn, but Mr. Utley's book on the ins and outs of how the pro and con Custer groups quickly solidified to the consistency of concrete, almost immediately after the Battle, should provide a source for this aspect of the subject for some time to come. Much remains to be researched and written in relation to what resulted from the Battle of the Little Bighorn; how it fits into the over-all history of American military and western developments. The army that went to Cuba and the Philippines was a different army from that which emerged from the Civil War in 1865, and the Little Bighorn was one of the major influences in promoting the changes that made the differences.

U. S. National Park Service,  
Omaha, Nebraska

DON RICKEY, JR.

*The Fabulous Frontier; Twelve New Mexico Items.* Revised and Enlarged Edition. By William A. Keleher. Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1962. Pp. 325. Bibliog., illust., index. \$5.00.

Readers of New Mexicana will welcome this touched-up reprint of Keleher's best book, first published by the Rydal Press in 1945.

The prologue and first chapter admirably introduce the setting in Lincoln County of Territorial days. There was a time when that county covered 27,000 square miles of southeastern New Mexico, or about one-fourth of the area of this Territory. It was a tough frontier, which "developed a rugged type of New Mexico citizen, fully able to take care of himself and his property" (p. 55).

The story of that craggy, blue-skied, cattle and mining country then unfolds in the entrancing biographies of its leading citizens.

One can only marvel at the number of eminent Americans whose lives were firmly rooted in that fabulous frontier. In Keleher's order of presentation they include John S. Chisum, cattle king; Patrick Floyd Garrett, law man; Thomas Benton Catron, lawyer and politician; Eugene Manlove Rhodes, Emerson Hough, Nathan Howard Thorp, and John Wallace Crawford, noted authors; James John Hagerman, capitalist; Albert Bacon Fall and Albert J. Fountain, lawyers and politicians; Oliver Milton Lee, rancher; Charles Bishop Eddy, railroad promoter; and William Ashton Hawkins, corporation lawyer.

Keleher excells as a *raconteur*; yet sometimes it appears that if a tall tale was told he merely retells it. As sources he mentions contemporary newspapers and court opinions, and most of the remainder of the material seems to be derived from personal acquaintance with the participants and inquiry among their acquaintances. Such a procedure is sound; but lack of identification of sources makes it difficult for subsequent historians to run down fine points for verification or amplification. Yet since 1945 very few details in the book have been challenged. Consequently for most critics Keleher himself stands as adequate authority.

In his conclusion the author says, "Some day the people of New Mexico, sensing an obligation long past due, will build a monument dedicated to the memories of the pioneers of southeastern New Mexico, . . ." (p. 325). In this work, Keleher has erected that monument.

New Mexico Highland University

LYNN I. PERRIGO

*Desert Harvest*. By E. I. Edwards. Los Angeles 41: Westernlore Press, 1962. Pp. 128. Illustrations, index. \$7.50.

Six hundred copies of *Desert Harvest* were printed, but only 500 are for sale. They ought to sell fast because this is an unusual book. It is a bibliography, but it is neither an exhaus-

tive one nor a list of suggested readings—they are not even the author's favorite books.

The jacket blurb reads: "This book is the synthesis of twenty-five years of exploring and writing about the Southwest deserts [by] . . . a man who owns one of the largest private collections of Southwest desert books. . . ." The unique quality of the bibliography is that it lists twenty-five books that Mr. Edwards would retain if forced to dispose of his library.

The author explains in a page or so why he would retain each of the twenty-five books, but in doing so he introduces the reader to a much wider bibliography. His comments are interesting and penetrating. They do not demand acceptance. They are simply one man's judgment—and pleasing to read.

In order to give the reader a deeper insight into the selective process the author, in a few pages at the close of the book, uses Martha Summerhayes' *Vanished Arizona* for illustration.

Mr. Edwards transcends the scope of his book when he states that Father Pedro Font's diary "is perhaps the greatest diary in all western hemisphere literature" (p. 57). Otherwise he sticks to his last and speaks with authority.

F. D. R

*History of the Americas.* By John Francis Bannon. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 2nd edition, 1963. I, pp. 596. \$7.50. II, pp. 617. \$7.50.

Universities offering a course in "History of the Americas" will welcome this new, improved edition of a text first published in 1952. The author has consolidated, rearranged, and expanded several chapters and has eliminated peripheral parts of the story of the Spanish conquest which tended to obscure the main pattern of events. In the first volume, the histories of colonial British and French America to the mid-eighteenth century has been placed in direct sequence rather

than separated by chapters on Latin America as was the order of the first edition. The effect has been to make clearer the geographic position of the two rival powers just prior to the engagements which led to the ultimate defeat of the French.

It is regrettable, in this reviewer's opinion, that the author did not follow the same principle of consolidation in Volume II, for to preclude mention of Canada until the last third of the volume, as is done, while advancing the history of the other Americas to the 1920's, leaves the Dominion too far behind. In other improvements, Professor Bannon has consolidated and shortened treatment of the Spanish conquest in South America, has expanded his account of life in Colonial Latin America, and has carried events for the hemisphere to the present with two chapters treating the period since World War II. The treatment of the national period in Latin America has been improved by picking up the theme of the rising middle and lower classes of the twentieth century, although better advantage might have been taken of recent works dealing with those groups as well as with the role of the military. Typographicals appearing in the first edition have been eliminated and the bibliography at the end of each chapter has been brought up to date.

There yet remains, however, the basic defect in this edition as in the previous one, which is that common themes (methods of expansion, colonial revolts, Indian problems, etc.) are seldom clearly or consistently brought out in the narrative. This is partly due to the fact that the author has tied himself too rigidly to chronology within a certain colony, and that he details far too many events of secondary importance. In certain parts of the work, a tendency to account for the passing of time by the tenure of colonial governors as in Canada, or by the tenure of caudillos as in nineteenth-century Latin America, relegates the narrative to chronicle. The result is a disparateness which an occasional comparative comment fails to rectify. This is all the more unfortunate,

for the author's essays on the characteristics of American civilization (the opening chapters of each volume) stand in brilliant but isolated splendor, as does his treatment, easily the best part of the work, of the area which became the United States. Essays which precede major time periods of the work and which point up common themes would help correct the present deficiency, as would a thematic treatment of each colony or nation following the prefatory and unifying essay.

The volumes also are marred by a few inaccurate statements, some unintentional obscurities, several omissions, and occasionally an unawareness of causal factors connected with certain events. The Portuguese fort of Colônia is incorrectly founded in the 1720's instead of in 1680 (I, 430), and the United States' treaty with Panama was signed in 1936, not in 1939 (II, 532). To say that Brazil throughout the colonial period was an agricultural rather than a precious-metals colony (I, 394) is to overlook the great Brazilian gold production of the eighteenth-century. The statement that praetorianism was hardly eliminated in Mexico during the Obregón period (II, 472) fails to take into account the professionalization of the army and its effects indicated by Lieuwen in *Arms and Politics in Latin America* (1961).

Moreover, the author's treatment of the French counter-attack on St. Augustine in 1565 (I, 150) gives the misleading impression that the Spanish were eliminated from that strategic position. The role of the Jesuits as a factor in colonial resentment is omitted in covering Brazil's Beckmann revolt, and the Brazil Company is not accredited with any part in expelling the Dutch (I, 370-71). The expansion of Spanish civilization into western Colombia and of Portuguese civilization up the Amazon are not treated.

In a work of vast scope, however, the details mentioned are quite minor defects. Rather like the conquistadores and padres of whom he writes, Professor Bannon has dared to undertake the large task with courage, energy, and modesty.

He has indeed succeeded in keeping alive the idea that the Americas are the torchbearers of Western civilization. To him, then, much credit is due.

University of New Mexico

TROY S. FLOYD

*Kit Carson: A Portrait in Courage.* By M. Morgan Estergreen. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962. Pp. 320. \$5.95.

Kit Carson was a real person who lived and died (December 24, 1809—May 23, 1868) on the frontier of his day. He was born in Kentucky (some say North Carolina) and died in Colorado Territory when both were on the forward edge of the westward movement in America. Perhaps as much as any other man his name has become synonymous with the Great American West, with Mountain Men and fur trappers, with hunting and scouting, and soldiering. Furthermore, many topographical features and even a few towns of the western United States bear his name, thus giving substance to his flesh and blood existence. However, in his own day he became a legend nearly as large as John Bunyan and Buffalo Bill, and today, nearly a hundred years since his death, the legend looms even larger. The book before us does little to dispel this legend—in spite of the dust jacket blurb which says “. . . M. Morgan Estergreen's *Kit Carson* is the long awaited corrective to that picture.” There are other areas in this book that invite criticism. The academic historian may cringe a little at the author's careless use and reference to what he calls “primary source material” in the form of Blanche Chloe Grant's notes. He will also wonder at the highly imaginative stories of Carson's childhood and the contrived dialogue used then and later during the great scout's fur hunting days. Particularly in the early portion of the book the writing is rambling, disconnected, and highly imaginative, as though it were written for juveniles to whom, in large numbers, it could very easily appeal. Even Hewett's Introduction sounds like a



rambling reminiscence told by a grandfather to his grandchildren and really adds little to the biography of Kit Carson.

All of this is not to say that this is not a good book, because it is, even with all its element of hero-worshipping. The author has a firm grasp and understanding of the life of Kit Carson. She has obviously consulted many, if not all, of the written materials on Carson's life and times. She has used official documents, interviews, journals and diaries and all of the biographies on the great scout's life. Furthermore, the author has a feel for the romance of the early West and a considerable knowledge of the history of that period and the part that Carson's contemporaries played. Because of the greater availability of material, the latter portion of the book, subsequent to the fur-trapping era, is superior both as to its historical accuracy and its literary qualities.

The book has the usual scholarly appendages, including a brief "Notes on Sources," a good bibliography and index, and a selection of excellent illustrations. The University of Oklahoma Press has done its usual competent job of book-making, clothing the volume with an attractive cover and jacket.

University of Utah Press

A. R. MORTENSEN

*The Last Days of the Sioux Nation.* By Robert M. Utley. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1963. Pp. xiv, 314. Bibliog., illus., index. \$7.50.

Once in a very great while a book is written of which it may be said: Here the subject is covered. No one will care to pass this way again. It would seem almost impossible that such a book should include an account of an affair as controversial as that at Wounded Knee—but this is it.

Almost everything that has been written about the Sioux War of 1890-91 has attempted to justify the actions of the troops, to defend the Indian Bureau, or to commiserate with the unfortunate Sioux. Bob Utley, regional historian at Santa

Fe for the National Park Service, has centered his attention on finding out what happened. So far as can be, after 70 years, he has succeeded.

There is no lack of documentation. Almost everyone concerned had some explaining to do. A court of inquiry, investigations, reports, interviews make up a staggering mass of paper for the period. It is the sort of problem that is baffling to the pedantic historian who is satisfied when any statement he cares to make can be backed by a citation. Here there is no lack of quotable material to support any point of view desired—and too many who have written about this Sioux War have desired to present a point of view. Yet it is possible to pick a course among contradictory reports from both sides, separating what was seen from what was rumored, and accepting what seems reasonable after weighing all the evidence.

Other books have fairly well outlined the mistaken policies, the failure to ratify agreements, the attempts to starve the Sioux into civilization that drove them, in despair, to see as their only hope a mystic and fantastic new religion. A change of administration that brought to this crisis new agents who were political appointees with no knowledge at all of Indians certainly contributed greatly to the trouble.

The pursuit of Big Foot's band is of course the most controversial event. Both E. V. Sumner and James W. Forsyth blundered in the handling of Big Foot, yet both at times viewed the situation more realistically than their vindictive superior, Nelson A. Miles. It has been little doubted that an Indian's action started the shooting, or that both sides fired accidentally into their own people. It has been assumed that in the excitement of battle there was much indiscriminate shooting of women and children. Actually the instances were rare; and surprising efforts were made to spare them—even, as in one case, where a soldier complained, "she is shooting at us." Wounded Knee was not a massacre.

That there was no more killing than this was due to the

wisdom of Miles in handling the affair, yet at times he could be exasperatingly petty.

It was a war without a hero. Perhaps what has always worried us is our failure to determine who wore the white hats and who wore the black hats. Utley tells us what they did. It was not always admirable, yet not always reprehensible. A Carlisle graduate wantonly killed an officer to prove he was still Indian. A court acquitted him of murder on the ground that he had acted as a combatant during a state of war. Somehow that court's verdict seems the ultimate judgment on many occurrences of what proved to be the last days of the Sioux Nation.

Many of the interpretations in this book no doubt will be disputed, but it seems unlikely that much can be added to fact or narrative.

Elmhurst, Ill.

DON RUSSELL

## BY-LAWS\* HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEW MEXICO

### *Preamble*

It shall be the purpose of the Historical Society of New Mexico to encourage in every way possible a greater appreciation of New Mexico history through aid and assistance, when practical, and as funds are available, for the publication of historical material, for the marking of historical routes and sites, both public and private, the establishment of historical collections and museums, the preservation of historic documents, artifacts, and published materials of historic importance, the purchase and preservation of historic landmarks, and all other related activities.

### ARTICLE I

#### *Membership and Dues*

Section 1. Membership shall be of six classes:

- a. Individual active membership—open upon application and payment of dues to any person interested in the purposes of the Society.
- b. Institutional membership—open upon application and payment of dues to any institution, school, board, library, or other organization interested in the purposes of the Society.
- c. Contributing membership—open upon application and payment of dues to any person, group, or firm offering special support to the objectives of the Society.
- d. Life membership—open upon application and payment of dues as specified below in this Article, to any person interested in the purposes of the Society.
- e. Advisory Council membership—open upon application and payment of dues as specified below in this Article to any person interested in the purposes of this Society. Members of the Advisory Council serve for life. Concurrent with the election of the Board of Directors, this Advisory Council will select two of its members to serve on the Board of Directors with all rights, privileges and duties pertaining to that office.
- f. Honorary membership—may be conferred upon any person whose activities have contributed to the objectives of the Society. Honorary members shall be elected by a three-fourths vote of members present and voting at a regular meeting, upon nomination by the Board of Director.

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\* As Amended December 8, 1962 and July 29, 1963.

Section 2. Active, individual contributing, institutional, life, and Advisory Council members resident in New Mexico shall have full voting powers at any regular or special meeting of the Society.

Section 3. Annual dues shall be payable with application for or renewal of membership, and shall cover a twelve-months period following receipt. Members in arrears more than six months after renewal payment is due shall be dropped from membership. Annual dues shall be as follows:

- a. Individual active members .....\$ 6.00
- b. Institutional members .....\$ 6.00
- c. Contributing members .....\$ 10.00 or more
- d. Life members .....\$ 100.00 in one payment or an equivalent in material of a historical nature acceptable to the Board of Directors.
- e. Advisory Council members.....\$1,000.00 or more. Amounts over \$1,000.00 may be pledged and paid at the discretion of the donor.
- f. Honorary members .....no dues.

## ARTICLE II

### *Affiliate Charters*

Section 1. The Board of Directors is authorized to issue an affiliate charter to any group or organization of persons whose purpose or aim is commensurate with the preamble as set forth by these By-Laws. The charter will make and constitute the affiliate an institutional member of this Society, and it shall be entitled to all of the privileges granted an institutional member herein.

Section 2. The terms and conditions upon which the affiliate charter shall be issued are as follows:

- a. Any institutional member may receive an affiliate charter upon on the payment of Ten (\$10.00) Dollars per year, which sum will include its institutional membership.
- b. No affiliate charter shall be issued unless the group or organization to which it is issued agrees to send to the Recording Secretary of this organization, the names and addresses of all of its current members and to encourage said members to become members of the Historical Society of New Mexico.
- c. The issuance of an affiliate charter to any organization will constitute its authority to participate in the selection of future Hall of Fame members in accordance with rules of selection to be determined by the Board of Directors of this Society.

## ARTICLE III

*Schedule and Quorums for Meetings*

Section 1. A regular meeting of the Society shall be held in the fall of each year, the exact time and place to be determined by the Board of Directors.

Section 2. Special meetings of the Society may be called at any time by the Board of Directors.

Section 3. The Board of Directors shall meet at any time upon call of the president or three of its members.

Section 4. Written notice of regular and special meetings of the Society shall be sent ten days in advance to all active, individual, contributing, institutional, life, and Advisory Council members resident in New Mexico, notices of special meetings specifying the reasons for their being called.

Section 5. Nine voting members of the Society and three members of the Board of Directors shall constitute quorums.

## ARTICLE IV

*Duties of Officers and the Board of Directors*

Section 1. The president shall have executive supervision over the activities of the Society within the scope provided by these By-Laws. He shall preside at all meetings, and shall report annually on the activities of the Society.

Section 2. The vice-president shall assume the duties of the president in the event of the absence, incapacity, or resignation of the president.

Section 3. The recording secretary shall keep minutes of the Society and of the Board of Directors, and shall render an annual report.

Section 4. The treasurer shall be responsible for the safekeeping of Society funds and for maintaining adequate financial records. He shall deposit all monies received by him with a reliable banking company in the name of the Historical Society of New Mexico. Monies shall be paid out by numbered checks signed by the treasurer and one other member of the Board of Directors. The treasurer will collect dues, and he shall render an annual report at the annual meeting.

Section 5. The corresponding secretary shall issue notices of meetings, reply to inquiries addressed to the Society not requiring consideration by the Board of Directors, and issue and reply to other correspondence upon direction of the president.

Section 6. The five elected officers of the Society, and two members selected by the Advisory Council, shall constitute the Board of Direc-

tors, which shall have power to conduct all affairs of the Society in accordance with these By-Laws. It shall decide questions of policy that for any reason cannot be acted upon at a meeting of the Society, and perform such other functions as designated in these By-Laws or otherwise assigned to it. The president of the Society shall be chairman of the Board of Directors.

Section 7. The Board of Directors is authorized to accept in the name of the Society, donations, grants, and matching funds of public and private agencies and individuals for earmarked or general purposes in the furtherance of the Society's aims, and the expenditure of such funds must have the approval of a majority of the Board of Directors.

Section 8. The Board of Directors is authorized to set the price of the Society's publications.

#### ARTICLE V

##### *Election of Officers*

Section 1. All officers shall be elected by a plurality of votes cast by secret ballot at the regular fall meeting of the Society held in each odd-numbered year.

Section 2. Not less than two months prior to the regular fall meeting of the Society held in each odd-numbered year, the corresponding secretary shall send to each member of the Board of Directors a blank upon which such member may nominate one person for each office open to election. Nominations shall be returned not less than one month before the meeting. A committee on nominations, appointed by the chairman, shall select the candidates from a list of all nominees.

Section 3. Nominations may also be made by any voting member of the Society, at any time prior to balloting. Any nomination made after the deliberations of the committee on nominations shall be added to the slate of candidates upon affirmative vote of a majority of voting members present at the meeting of election. A candidate for election shall be a voting member of the Society in good standing.

Section 4. Officers shall be installed at the close of the meeting at which they were elected, and shall serve for two years and until their successors have been duly elected and installed. Vacancies arising during terms of office shall be filled for the duration of such terms by a majority vote of the remaining officers, except the office of president, which shall be filled by the vice-president, in which case the office of vice-president shall then be filled by vote of the other officers.

## ARTICLE VI

*Loans of Historical Materials*

Section 1. Documents and historical materials which shall be acquired by purchase or gift for the Society, and whose disposition has not already been provided for, may be loaned to such public agencies as local museums, libraries, historical exhibits, fairs, and similar places where the public may have the opportunity to view such displays.

## ARTICLE VII

*Committees*

Section 1. The president shall appoint members and chairmen of such standing or special committees as may be directed by the Board of Directors or by vote of the Society.

## ARTICLE VIII

*Continuation of Non-Active and Life Membership*

Section 1. The classification of any member in a Life membership category shall not be jeopardized by any changes in these By-Laws.

## ARTICLE IX

*Amendment of the Articles of Incorporation and the By-Laws*

Section 1. Amendment of the Articles of Incorporation and/or these By-Laws may be proposed by the Board of Directors at any regular, special or adjourned meeting of the Society, and may be effected in the manner authorized by law at the time of amendment, if approved, by a two-thirds vote of those present and voting at such meeting, provided that full notice of such proposed amendment was given in writing to each voting member of the Society at least ten days prior to the date of the meeting.



# INDEX

- Abadiano, Fray Manuel de, Santa Anna 1770's, 115  
 Acrey, C. M., sheepman, 76  
*A Campaign From Santa Fe to the Mississippi* . . ., by Noel, rev'd., 263  
 Adams, Eleanor B., "Fray Silvestre and the Obstinate Hopi," 97-138; note on lottery, 184  
 Aguatobi, San Bernardino de, ruins, 136; see Awatovi.  
 Agriculture (1902), 56ff  
 Akin, P. C., sheepman, 76  
 Alfalfa, Pecos Valley, 65  
 Allen Opal Sweazea, *Narcissa Whitman* . . ., rev'd., 95  
 Alston Bros., sheepmen, 76  
 Alter, J. Cecil, *Jim Bridger*, rev'd., 343  
 American & Mexican attitude, 349  
 Antrim, Henry (Billy the Kid), 348  
 A'ot, San Agustin de, Piman village, 178  
*Apache, Navaho, and Spaniard*, by Forbes, rev'd., 176  
 Apache: baptized (1778), 117; depredation 1830's, 34; Gila, 109; Gila & Navaho (1775), 137; raids, Arizona (1800's), 164  
 Aquituni, Piman village, 174  
 Arizona, Apache raids (1800's), 164; mining (1850's), 151f; statehood, 336  
 Artesian water, 4, 57, 299  
 Ashbaugh, Don, *Nevada's Turbulent Yesterday*, rev'd., 268  
 Ash Fork, Arizona, description, 334  
 Athearn, Robert G., *Rebel of the Rockies* . . ., rev'd., 254  
 Atlantic & Pacific R. R., land grant, 3  
 Avalon Lake, 63  
 Awatovi, ruin, 108; see Aguatobi  
  
 Bac, San Xavier del, mission, 108, 166  
 Bacarica, Piman village, 175ff  
*Bad Medicine & Good. Tales of the Kiowas*, by Nye, rev'd., 79  
 Bagby, A. P., 303  
 Bailey, Paul, *Jacob Hamblin* . . ., rev'd., 86  
 Baird, James, 147  
 Baker, Chauncey, 236  
 Baker, James, 245  
 Baldwin, Brewster, 199  
 Bannon, John Francis, *History of the Americas*, rev'd., 349  
 Bartlett, Richard A., *Great Surveys of the American West*, rev'd., 93  
 Bean, C. C., 155  
 Bean, Gen. Edmund, 35  
 Bean, Mrs. James (Petra Kirker), 35  
 Bean, Roy, 35  
 Bean, Samuel F., 35  
 Beck, Warren A., *New Mexico* . . ., rev'd., 89  
 Bell, Captain John R., 191ff  
 Benes, Ron, 182  
 Bennett, James A., 283  
 Benson & Sons, Gen. R. S., 65  
 Bibber, Sgt. Ewing van, 53  
 Big Nigger, 37  
 Billy the Kid, 347; see Antrim  
 Bingham, F. P., sheepman, 76  
 Bock, Philip K., rev., *The Kiowas*, 270  
 Bonneville, Col. B. L. E., 295  
 Borica, Don Diego, 104  
 Botton, Charlie, 226  
 "Bradshaw Bonanza," by Henderson, 151-162  
 Bradshaw City, 153, 161  
 Bratton, Sen. Sam G., 22  
 Brigg's Canyon, 206  
 Brinch, Fitz, sheepman, 57  
 Browers, Ed., 156  
 Buckeye Sheep Co., 76  
 Bueyeros, 211  
 Burke, Charles H., Commissioner, 17  
 Byrne, John H., 277  
  
 Cahill, F. P., death, 347  
 Cajuala, home of Cosninas, 127  
 Calabazas, Piman village, 172  
 Caldwell, Willis, 67  
 Callon, Milton W., *Las Vegas, New Mexico* . . ., rev'd., 83  
 Cameron, Allen "Scotty," 154  
 Cameron, J. O. and Davis, sheepmen, 58  
 Cameron, J. O. & Co., 76  
 Cameron, Sen. Ralph H. (Arizona), 28  
 Campbell, Colin, 249  
 Campbell, Hugh, 248  
 Campos, Joseph Agustín de, 173f  
 Canby, Col. E. R., 303  
 Candelaria, Juan, sheepman, 244  
 Cañutillo, Ojo de, 122  
 Carlsbad (town) description, 72  
 Carr, Col. Eugene A., 233f  
 Carral, Fray José, Zufi (1779), 117  
 Carrizo Creek, 190  
 Carson, Kit, see Kit  
 Case, O. H., 156  
 Cash, James, 162  
 Castrense, Santa Fe, 117  
 Cattle industry, N. W. New Mexico, 4; Hopi (1775), 135; vs. sheep, 60  
 Cavalry, 6th, 227, 238  
 Cavanaugh, Capt. Harry, 224  
 Chacuaco Creek, 190  
 Chaffee, Capt. Adna R., 224  
 Chamberlain, Billy, 226  
 Chambers, Mary Wallace (Mrs. Tom Green), 302  
 Chambers, Samuel, 147

- "Checkerboard," Navaho land, 3  
 Chihuahua trade (1846), 41  
 Church, Territorial, 316  
 Cisneros, Don Juan Pedro, Alcalde Mayor, 104, 112, 119  
 Civil War in New Mexico, 302ff  
 Civil War in Texas, 306ff  
 Clay, John, *My Life on the Range*, rev'd., 255  
 Cline, Gloria Griffen, *Exploring the Great Basin*, rev'd., 256  
 Cochiti: *A New Mexico Pueblo . . .*, by Lange, rev'd., 256  
 Cocospera, Piman village, 177  
 Cody, William (Buffalo Bill), 232  
 Collier, John, 22  
 Collier, W. C., 155  
 Collins, James L., description, 42  
 Collinson, Frank, *Life in the Saddle*, rev'd., 344  
 Comanche raid (1776), 111  
 Conde, General Pedro García, 44  
 "Confederate Hero at Val Verde," by Faulk, 300-311  
 Conservation, 14  
 Cooper, Benjamin, expeditions to Santa Fe, 139-150  
 Cooper, Braxton, 141  
 Cooper, Stephen, 141  
 Cordes, John H., 248  
 Corley, Corydon E., 246 note  
 Corn, Pecos Valley, 65  
 Corrupa Creek, 203  
 Cosninas, 106ff  
 Cotton, Pecos Valley, 67  
 Crampton, C. Gregory and Dwight L. Smith, *The Hoskaninni Papers*, rev'd., 88  
 Crawford, A. J., sheepman, 76  
 Crespo, Gov. Francisco Antonio (Sonora), 108  
 Cross L. Ranch, 203  
 Cuate, Antonio de, Santa Ana apostate, 113  
 Cultural conflict, 349  
 Cumaa Spring, 121  
 Cusac, Piman village, 178  
 Custer and the Great Controversy, by Utley, rev'd., 346  
 Cutter, Don C., rev., *Documentos para servir a la historia del nuevo mexico, 1538-1778*, 78  
 Cutting, Sen. Bronson, 27  
 Daggett, Calif., borax, 324; irrigation, 324  
 Davis, Edward Adams, *Fallen Guidon . . .*, rev'd., 82  
 Delaine sheep, 59  
 Delaware Creek, source, 284; Indians, 37  
 Deming (town 1880's), 312  
*Desert Harvest*, by Edwards, rev'd., 348  
 Deutsch, Herman J., rev., Allen, *Narcissa Whitman*, 95  
 Devine, James, 58  
 Diary of Escalante, 118  
 Di Peso, Dr. Charles C., 173  
 Disease, Arizona Indian, 165  
 Dobyns, Henry F., "Indian Extinction in the Middle Santa Cruz River Valley, Arizona," 163-181  
*Documentos para servir a la historia del Nuevo Mexico, 1538-1778*, rev'd., 78  
 Dodge, Chee, Navaho leader, 18  
 Domínguez, Fray Atanasio de, 99ff  
 Doniphan, Col. Alexander W., 29  
 Easterly, Thomas M., daguerrotypist, 54  
 Eckles, Robert B., rev., *Formative Years in the Far West*, 260  
 Edwards, E. I., rev., Ashbaugh, *Nevada's Turbulent Yesterday*, 268; *Desert Harvest*, rev'd., 348  
 Edwards, Marcellus Bell, soldier, 30  
 El Carmen, hacienda, 41  
 El Paso, surrender (1846), 34; see Franklin, 277  
 El Sauz, 44  
 El Tizon (Colorado River), 101  
 Ellis Florence Hawley, rev., Lange, *Cochiti: A New Mexico Pueblo . . .*, 256  
 Emery Peak, 200  
 Encinillas, Laguna de, 42  
 Escalante, Fray Silvestre de, 97; Diary, 118  
 Estep, Evan, Indian Agent, 12  
 Estergreen, M. Morgan, *Kit Carson: A Portrait in Courage*, rev'd., 352  
 Execution (1846), 35; 51  
*Exploring the Great Basin*, by Cline, rev'd., 265  
 Fall, Albert B., 7  
*Fallen Guidon . . .*, by Davis, rev'd., 82  
 Faulk, Odie B., "Confederate Hero at Val Verde," 300-311  
 Federal Indian policy, 1ff  
 Filance, Peter, 245  
 Fine, James, miner, 154  
 Fischer, LeRoy H., 253  
 Flax, 121  
 Floyd, Troy, S., rev., Bannon, *History of the Americas*, ?  
 Forbes, Jack D., *Apache, Navaho, and Spaniard*, rev'd., 176  
*Formative Years in the Far West*, by White, rev'd., 260  
 Forsythe, Capt. Thomas, 32  
 Fort Bayard, 224  
 Fort Carrizal, 33  
 Fort Stanton, description, 227  
 Foster Bennett, rev., *Las Vegas, New Mexico . . .*, 83; rev., Collinson, *Life in the Saddle*, 344  
 Fowler, Jacob, 143  
 Fowler Mesa, 198  
 Franciscans, attitude re Hopi ceremony, 123  
 Franklin, Texas, 277; see El Paso  
 Frantz, Joe B., rev., Clay, *My Life on the Range*, ?

- "Fray Silvestre and the Obstinate Hopi,"  
by Adams, 97-138  
Freight rates (1903), 77  
Fruits, Pecos Valley, 67f
- Gallagher, James E., 208 note  
Gallegos Spring, Chihuahua, 44  
Garcés, Fray Francisco, quoted, 99; at Hopi,  
111  
Garrard, Lt. K., 277  
Garrett, A. D., sheepman, 57  
Garrod, J., 58  
Ghost Dance rebellion, 237  
Glenn, Hugh, 143  
Gómez, Fray Fernando Antonio, 103  
Gordon, Lt. G. Pope (Mexican War), 40  
Graham, James D., 183  
Graydon, Capt. James, 303  
*Great Surveys of the American West*, by  
Bartlett, rev'd., 93  
Green, Maj. Gen. Tom, 300; Civil War in  
Texas, 308ff  
Green, Mrs. Tom (Mary W. Chambers), 302  
Greever, William S., rev., Athearn, *Rebel of  
the Rockies* . . . , 254; rev., Alter, *Jim  
Bridger*, 343  
Gronsky, I., sheepman, 58  
Guadalupe y Calvo, Chihuahua, 52  
Gu Oidak, Piman village, 178  
Guebavi Mission, depopulation, 168; mean-  
ing, 171  
Gunter, A. T., sheepman, 58
- Hagerman, Herbert J., Commissioner, 17  
"Hair raising," 30  
Haiwan Pit, Piman village, 178  
Hanging (1846), 35; 51  
Harbottle, Mary Ann Rose, 225  
Harrison, E. M., oil prospector, 14  
Harvey houses, 334  
Havasú Hotel, Arizona, 328  
Hawkins, Jake, rifle, 29  
Hayden, Rep. Carl (Arizona), 21  
Health seekers, 56, 312  
Heliograph, 223, 229  
Henderson, A., 40  
Henderson, Patrick D., "Bradshaw Bonan-  
za," 151-162  
Henderson, Randall, *On Desert Trails Today  
and Yesterday*, rev'd., 91  
Heredia, Gov. José A. (Durango), 37  
Hill and Hurd, sheepmen, 59  
Historical Society of New Mexico, *By Laws*,  
356  
*History of the Americas*, by Bannon, rev'd.,  
349  
Hittson, W. H., 58  
Hobbs, James, 47  
Holmes, Kenneth L., "The Benjamin Coop-  
er Expeditions to Santa Fe in 1822 and  
1823," 139-150  
Hopi, mission, 97; village, 104; peach trees,  
108; description, 134; economy, 135
- Horton, D. S., letter, 66  
Hotel Schlitz, 72  
Huddart, William, 148  
Hueco Tanks, 278  
Humphreys, Capt. H. H., 280
- Immigrant Crossing, Pecos River, 279  
Indian disease, Arizona, 165; education, Ari-  
zona (1900's), 328  
"Indian Extinction in the Middle Santa  
Cruz River Valley, Arizona," by Dobyns,  
163-181  
Ingham, A., sheepman, 58  
Irrigation, Pecos Valley, 62
- Jack Canyon, 194  
Jackson, W. Turrentine, rev., *Exploring  
the Great Basin*, 265  
Jacob Hamblin . . . , by Bailey, rev'd., 86  
Jaffa, Nathan, sheepman, 58  
James, Dr. Edwin, journal, 185  
Jiaspi, Piman village, 178  
Jim Bridger, by Alter, rev'd., 343  
"John J. Pershing: Frontier Cavalryman,"  
by Smythe, 220-243  
Johnson, Thomas T., C. E., 64  
Jones, Albert, sheepman, 330  
Jones, Sen. A. A., 22  
José Butte, 200
- Keleher, William A., *The Fabulous Fron-  
tier* . . . , rev'd., 347  
Kelly, Lawrence C., "The Navaho Indians:  
Land and Oil," 28  
Kendall, George Wilkins, 53  
Keyes, D., sheepman, 58  
Kinaituná Spring, 120; see San José Spring  
Kino, Father Eusebio F., 173  
Kirker, James, 30  
Kirker, Joseph, 35  
Kirker, Petra, 35  
Kit Carson: *A Portrait in Courage*, by  
Estergreen, rev'd., 352  
Kling, Chas., 58  
Knollin, A. J., sheepman, 57  
Kobbé, Maj. Gen. William A., 224  
Konkuk, Piman village, 172  
Ku Shu: tak, Indian settlement, 170  
Kuitatk, Papago village, 177  
Kuitatkekam, Santa Catalina de, Piman vil-  
lage, 178
- Lake Avalon, 63  
Land grant, A. & P. RR, 3  
Land scrip, 58  
Lange, Charles H., *Cochiti: A New Mexico  
Pueblo* . . . , rev'd., 256  
Largo, Francisco, Comanche, 147  
*Las Vegas, New Mexico* . . . , by Callon,  
rev'd., 83  
Law, executive order, 2  
Lester, Henry, 226  
Leupp, Francis, Commissioner, 4

- Life in the Saddle*, by Frank Collinson, rev'd., 344  
 Lisnet, Mrs. Frank, 227  
 Long, Major Stephen H., see John M. Tucker, 185  
 Long, W. H., sheepman, 58  
 Long, see "Major Long's Route . . ."  
 Long's Canyon, 190ff  
 Lottery, 18th century, 183  
 Lovelace, M. F., sheepman, 58  
 Lyle, Lt. D. A., 154
- McCook, Brig. Gen. Alexander McG., 236  
 McCracken, Jackson, 153  
 McIntire, William, 249 note  
 McKinnon, R. C., 154  
 McLean, Lachlan, 36  
 McNalley, Lt. C. H., 295  
 McNitt, Frank, *The Indian Traders*, rev'd., 182  
 Maceyra, don José Felix (Chihuahua), 51  
 Magdalena mission, 176  
 Magoffin, John Wiley, 31  
 "Major Long's Route from the Arkansas to the Canadian," by Tucker, 185-219  
 Mangas, Apache chief, 221  
 Marshall, Lt. L. H., 277  
 Martin, C. C., sheepman, 58  
 Martínez, Fray Damian, 97ff  
 Mason and Smith, sheepmen, 58  
 Matheson, J. F., 73  
 Maya, Mesa de, 190  
 Mayer, Joe, 249 note  
 Mayhall, Mildred P., *The Kiowas*, rev'd., 270  
 Mendinueta, Gov. Pedro Fermín de, 103; quote, 109  
 Merriitt, E. B., Commissioner, 7  
 Mescalero Apache, location, 137  
 Mexican War, 31  
 Mexican and American attitudes, 349  
 Michaelis, R., 58  
 Miera y Pacheco, Don Bernardo, 100  
 Military training (1880's), 228  
 Miller, H. M., sheepman, 58  
 Miller, J. M., sheepman, 58  
 Mining law, 159  
 Mirrors, 149  
 Missouri mules, origin, 150  
 Mitchell, Col. David D., Mexican War, 34  
 Mitchell, Thomas, 277  
 Moore, Meredith T., soldier, 30, 49  
 Moqui, see Hopi  
 Moreland, Dan, 155  
 Morgan, Thomas J., 236  
 Morillo, Fray Isidro (1776), 118  
 Mortensen, A. R., rev., Estergreen, *Kit Carson: A Portrait in Courage*, 352  
 "Mrs. Blake's Sunday School," by Salmans, 312-322  
 Muehlberger, William, 197  
 Murillo, Fray Isidro, 104  
*My Life on the Range*, by Clay, rev'd., 255
- Myers, Lee, "Pope's Wells," 273-299
- Narcissa Whitman* . . ., by Allen, rev'd., 95  
 Navaho, 105ff; attack Hopi (1776), 113; at Hopi (1775), 123; land, 1ff; location (1775), 121; see Lawrence C. Kelly  
 Navaho Tribal Council, origin, 16  
*Nevada's Turbulent Yesterday* . . ., by Ashbaugh, rev'd., 268  
*New Mexico* . . ., by Beck, rev'd., 89  
 NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW, ownership, 253  
 Nigger Mesa, 199  
 Noel, Theo., *A Campaign From Santa Fe to the Mississippi* . . ., rev'd., 263  
 Nye, Wilbur Sturtevan, *Bad Medicine and Good. Tales of the Kiowas*, rev'd., 79
- Oapicagigua, Luis, Piman chief, 172  
 Oates, Stephen B., rev., Noel, *A Campaign From Santa Fe to the Mississippi*, 263  
 O'Connor, Don Hugo, 100  
 Oil discovery, 1; Indian royalty, 21; royalty allocation, 14  
 Ojo de la Jara, 136  
 Oklahoma, Civil War map, 253  
 Oquitoa mission, 177  
*On Desert Trails Today and Yesterday*, by Henderson, rev'd., 91  
 Ortiz, Ramón (El Paso), 33  
 Osborne, O. S., cattleman, 68  
 Owens, Maj. Samuel C., Mexican War, 40
- Papagos, desert Indians, 175  
 Parish, William J., "Sheep Husbandry . . .," 56-77  
 Park, Lt. John G., surveyor, 275  
 Parsons, M. M., 43  
 Peach trees, Hopi, 208  
 Peale, Titian Ramsay, papers, 188, 212  
 Pearson, Jim, rev., *The Hoskaninni Papers* . . ., by Crampton and Smith, 88  
 Pecos Irrigation and Investment Co., 63  
 Pecos Valley, irrigation, 62f; livestock, 62  
 Peeples, A. H., miner, 152  
 Penn, Julius, 227  
 Perkins, E. S., 251  
 Perkins, Mrs. E. S., 251 note  
 Perrigo, Lynn J., rev., Keleher, *The Fabulous Frontier*, 347  
 Pershing, Grace, 234  
 Pershing, John J.; see Smythe  
 Piman Indians, prehistoric, 163; linguistics, 170  
 Pinery Springs, 278  
 Pitt, S., sheepman, 75  
 Pope's camp, 282  
 Pope's Hill, 297  
 "Pope's Wells," by Myers, 273-299  
 Porras, Don Estanislao, 43  
 Prager, William S., sheepman, 58  
 Prejudice, Mexican, 41  
 Presidential order, 2

- Preston, Texas, 277; see Lake Texhoma  
 Priest, Loring B., rev., McNitt, *The Indian Traders*, 182  
 Public land disputes, 6  
 Pueblo economy (1775), 135; trade, 118  
 Punta de Agua, 190
- Querque, don Santiago; see James Kirker  
 Quiburi, Piman village, 178
- Railroad: rates, 333; transcontinental surveys, 273ff  
 Range Industry, Arizona (1900's), 244, 323  
 Rasch, Philip J., note, 348  
*Rebel of the Rockies* . . . , by Athearn, rev'd., 254  
 Reeve, Frank D., ed., "The Sheep Industry in Arizona, 1903," 244-252; ". . . 1905-1906," 323-342; rev's., Beck, *New Mexico* . . . , 89; Edwards, *Desert Harvest*, 348; see Wm. J. Parish  
 Reid, Capt. John W., Mexican War, 36  
 Reily, Col. James, 306  
 Rifle, Jake Hawkins, 29  
 Rio Grande Woolen Mills, Albuquerque, 74  
 Rio Puerco (West), springs, 120  
 Robinson Mountain, 200  
 Rosete, Fray Mariano, 98  
 Roswell, description (1902), 56  
 Roswell Wool, Hide and Pelt Co., 58  
 Rusk, Gen. Thomas J., 300  
 Russell, Don, rev., Utley, *The Last Days of the Sioux Nation*, 353
- Sacramento, battle, 48  
 Salmans, Mary Blake, "Mrs. Blake's Sunday School," 312-322  
 San Cayetano, Piman village, 173  
 San Ignacio mission, 176  
 San José Spring, see Kinaituná  
 Santa Fe trade, prices, 149; influence, 150  
 Santa Teresa mission, 177  
 Say, Thomas, zoologist, 186  
 Scalp hunters, 29; names, 46  
 Schlitz Hotel, Carlsbad, 72  
 Scott, Gen. L., Commissioner, 11 note  
 Scott, Lt. George L., 230  
 Scrip, land, 58  
 Scurry, William., 303  
 Sells, Cato, Commissioner, 11  
 Sheep: industry costs (1900's), 250; Delaine, 59; Hopi abundance (1775), 135; price, 71; price (1900's), 250; strains, 330ff; transportation, 340  
 "Sheep Husbandry in New Mexico, 1902-1903," ed. by Parish, 56-77; see Frank D. Reeve  
 Shepherdherd, wage (1900's), 250  
 Sheepmen, 251; Arizona, 331ff  
 Shelby Hotel, Roswell, 61  
 Shoup, Solomon, 156  
 Showlow, Arizona, 246
- Sierra Grande, 206  
 Simington, A. W., Indian Agent, 11  
 Simpson, A., 155  
 Sioux Indian names, 242  
 Skekels, N. C., 159  
 Skillman, George, 43  
 Smith, Edgar T., sheepman, 330  
 Smith, George Winston, rev., Davis, *Fallen Guidon* . . . , 82  
 Smith, Sen. Marcus A. (Arizona), 10  
 Smith, Ralph A., "The 'King of New Mexico' and the Doniphan Expedition," 29-55  
 Smythe, Donald, S. J., "John J. Pershing: Frontier Cavalryman," 220-243  
 Soamca, Santa Maria, mission 175  
 Sobaipuri Indians, 175ff  
 Sonnichen, C. L., rev., Henderson, *On Desert Trails* . . . , 91  
 Sopori, Piman village, 171  
 Speyer, Albert, 40  
 Staked Plains, geology, 280  
 Statehood, mention, 5; Arizona, 336  
 Stevenson, Capt. C. H., 288  
 Stotsenburg, Lt. John M., 236  
 Surveys, transcontinental RR's, 273ff  
 Swift, William H., 188  
 Swilling, Jack, 151
- Taos massacre, 37  
 Taplin, Capt. C. S., 277  
 Texas, civil war, 306ff  
 Texhoma, lake (Texas), 277; see Preston  
*The American Shepherd's Bulletin*, 244  
 "The Caches," origin, 147  
*The Fabulous Frontier* . . . , by Keleher, rev'd., 347  
*The Hoskaninni Papers* . . . , by Crampton and Smith, rev'd., 88  
*The Indian Traders*, by McNitt, rev'd., 182  
 "The 'King of New Mexico' and the Doniphan Expedition," by Smith, 29-55  
*The Kiowas*, by Mayhall, rev'd., 270  
*The Last Days of the Sioux Nation*, by Utley, rev'd., 353  
 "The Sheep Industry in Arizona, 1903," ed. by Reeve, 244-252; ". . . 1905-1906," 323-342; see Wm. J. Parish  
 Thirst, results of, 148  
 Tizón, Rio del, 119  
 Toacuquita, Piman village, 173  
 Tobacco "of the kingdom," 132; in diplomacy, 131  
 Tollgate Canyon, 190  
 Topakia Spring, 120  
 Torre, Fray Mariano Rodríguez de la, 104  
 Torrey, John, botanist, 187  
 Trade, pueblo, 118  
 Traders to Chihuahua (1846), 41  
 Travesser Creek, 190  
 Traylor, Elmo, 202  
 Tubac, Spanish fort, 167  
 Tubutama mission, 177

- Tucker, John M., "Major Long's Route from the Arkansas to the Canadian River, 1820," 185-219
- Tumacacori, meaning, 166; mission abandoned, 165
- Turanzas, José Porruas, see *Documentos para servir . . .*, 78
- Turk and Co., sheep, 58
- Turknitt, J. W., sheepman, 76
- Tyler, S. Lyman, rev'd., Bailey, *Jacob Hamblin . . .*, 86
- Underground water, 57
- Upiatuban, Piman village, 172
- Utes and Cosninas, friendly, 131
- Utley, Robert M., *Custer and the Great Controversy*, rev'd., 346; *The Last Days of the Sioux Nation*, rev'd., 353
- Val Verde, battle, 303
- Vegetables, Pecos Valley, 67
- Vincent, Victor, sheepman, 76
- Voget, Fred W., rev., *Bad Medicine and Good . . .*, by Nye, 79
- Waldo, Capt. David, Mexican War, 36
- Walker, Joel P., 141
- Walker, Joseph Reddeford, miner, 147, 152
- Wallace, Capt. Bill, 231
- Ware, Josiah E., engraver, 54
- Warren, Lt. G. K., map (1857), 213
- Wasson, John, *Surv. Gen.*, 156
- Watson, William, death, 154
- Weaver, Pauline, miner, 152
- Webb, James J., 40
- Webster, George Jr., letter, 69f
- Weightman, Capt. Richard H., 51
- Well boring tools (1850's), 281; drilling, 290f; tubing (1850's), 287
- Wetmore, Alphonso, report origin (1825), 140
- White, Gerald T., *Formative Years in the Far West*, rev'd., 260
- White, W. T., sheepman, 59
- Williamson and Turner, sheepmen, 58
- Woman, frontier, 315
- Wood, Jay X., 252
- Woods, H., 67
- Wool price (1902), 75; production (Roswell), 60
- Worcester, Donald E., rev., *Forbes, Apache, Navaho, and Spaniard*, 176
- Work, Hubert, Secy. of Int., 19
- Wright, Muriel H., editor, 253
- Xona, Piman village, 174
- "Young Observer," 56, 76
- Yute Indians, 100ff
- Zufi, horse theft (1889), 232

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